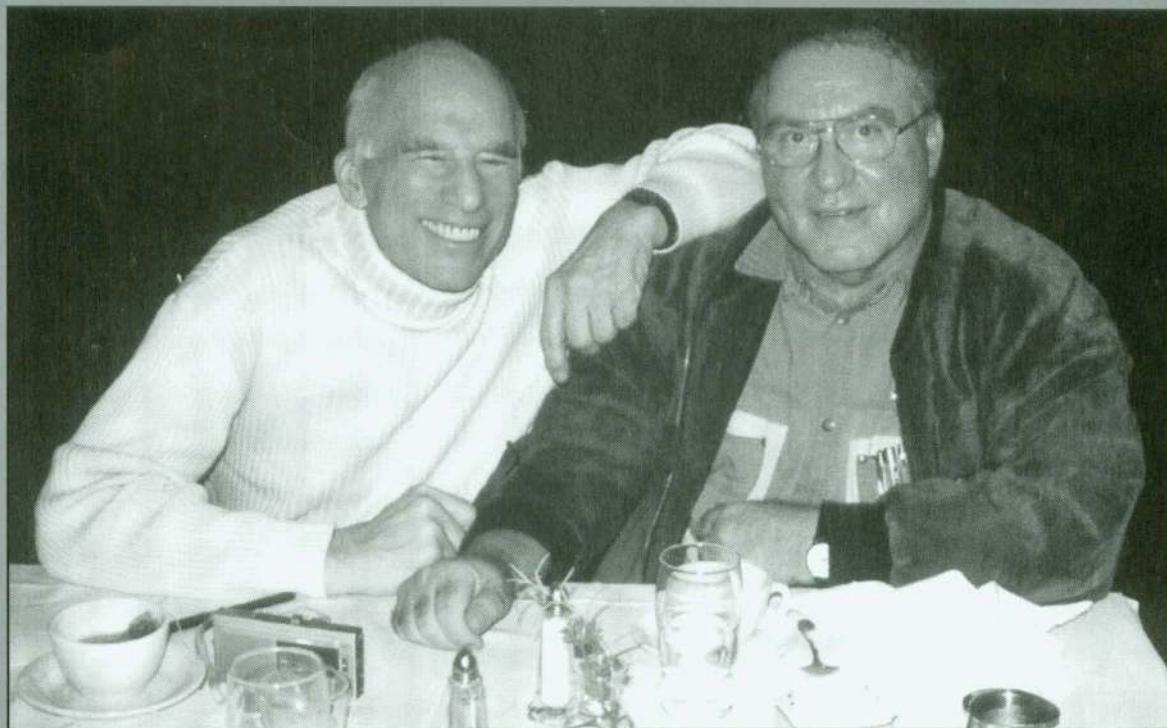


The Journal of Historical Review

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January/February 2001



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John Sack

**Waging and Winning the
Information War**
Ernst Zündel

New Light on Auschwitz Witness
Miklos Nyiszli
Charles D. Provan

**The Shoah: Fictive Images
and Mere Belief?**
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**Shermer and Grobman's
*Denying History***
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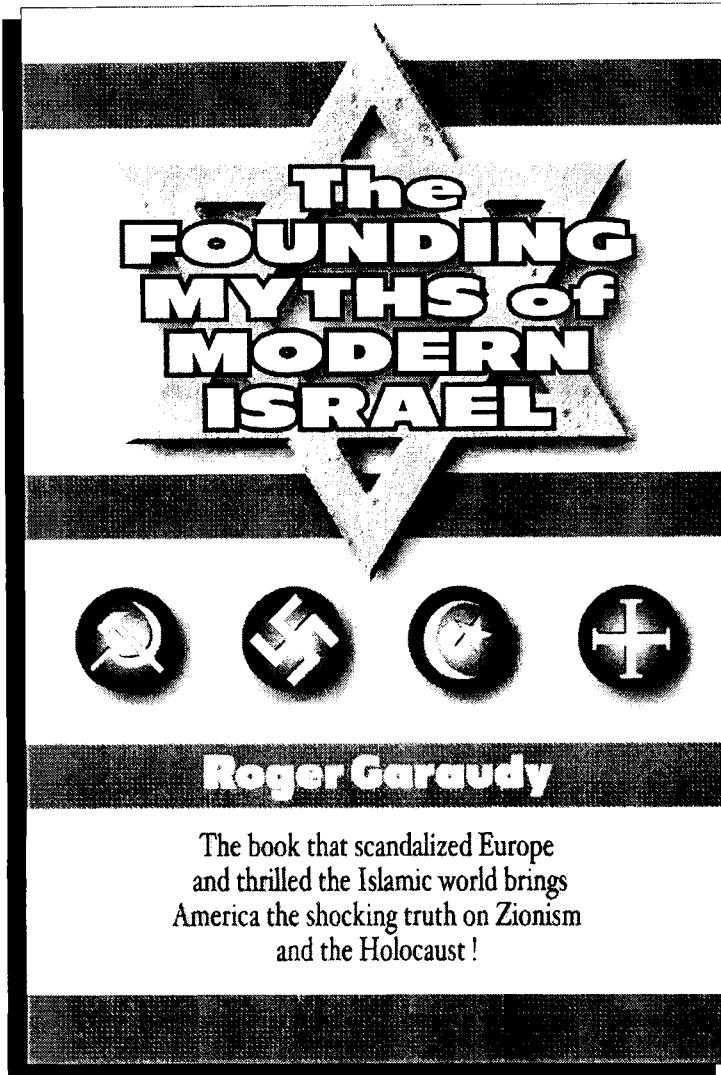
— And More —

Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing



how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him \$40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

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On the Cover: John Sack and Ernst Zündel relax at a Santa Monica restaurant after watching Errol Morris' *Mr. Death*. (Photo by Gordon Noice.)

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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There are different kinds of revisionism, and different sorts of revisionists. That's no news to veteran revisionists. In fact, the diversity of opinion among revisionists has been far more troubling to the wardens of opinion on the Holocaust and other historical taboos than to the revisionist movement. Ernst Zündel's association with Jews such as Josef G. Burg and David Cole outraged the Holocaust police, not the revisionists.

This issue of the *Journal*, from its cover photo of Ernst Zündel and John Sack to its concluding review of Richard Evans' snarling attack on David Irving, will surely affront the high priests of the extermination cult. Containing as it does two feature articles by authors who avow their belief in gassings at Auschwitz, it will doubtless surprise many revisionists as well.

As it happens, both of these dissident revisionists, John Sack and Charles Provan, figured in a landmark article that appeared in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire*, as did Ernst Zündel, who is also featured in this issue. Sack, of course, wrote that article, based largely on his participation in the Institute of Historical Review's conference of May 2000. And while the JHR has criticized aspects of Sack's article (see "John Sack's Defective *Esquire* Article," Nov-Dec 2000 JHR), it was still a long stride forward in major media treatment of Holocaust revisionism: for the first time revisionists were portrayed as persecuted, rather than as persecutors, and as humane and tolerant, to boot.

The tolerance that allows revisionists to give a fair hearing to their adversaries is far from a flabby indulgence. On the same day that the chummy photo that graces our cover was taken, Ernst Zündel and John Sack could be overheard at IHR's offices jousting wholeheartedly on the Holocaust, the origins of the Second World War, the Jewish involvement in Communism, and John Sack's book *An Eye for Eye*. There was no sacrifice of either civility or passion: tolerance need not mean stifling criticism, abiding untruth, or abandoning the relentless search for facts.

World-class journalist John Sack has written many controversial stories in his fifty years of journalism, but, as he relates here, none as controversial as the story of those Jews who ran postwar concentration camps for Germans. Himself Jewish, Sack tells of his struggle to research, write, publish, and promote that story in the face of stonewalling by Yad Vashem, censorship at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and attacks from major Jewish organizations — a toughening that stands

him in good stead here as he runs a gauntlet of polite but skeptical questioners at IHR's conference.

Freelance researcher Charles Provan, whom Ernst Zündel calls "a revisionist who believes in the gas chambers," has found important new documents on a key Auschwitz witness, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, just when it seemed that revisionist researchers had said the last word on the Hungarian pathologist. Provan suggests a "novel" solution to the inconsistencies and absurdities in Nyiszli's testimony. His solution may trouble the Auschwitz orthodox more than it does revisionists.

Revisionists tend to think of Ernst Zündel as more a warrior than a diplomat, but in this issue the victor in the Toronto Holocaust trials urges that revisionists be tolerant: not only of our adversaries, but of ourselves. In his address to IHR's May 2000 conference, Ernst shows several of his many sides: transcontinental publisher of revisionist research; Prospero of worldwide revisionist outreach; spin doctor on the Irving trial; and prophet of the present Palestinian revolt.

It has been a while since the *Journal* ran dual reviews of one book, yet, like Arno Mayer's *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*, reviewed by both Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson in the fall 1989 JHR, Peter Novick's *Holocaust in American Life* is that rare book from the historical establishment that merits extended consideration. After Greg Raven and former academic Samuel Crowell mine Novick's jaundiced study for its many implications and admissions, Crowell examines Norman Finkelstein's still more acidulous *Holocaust Industry*. Then Crowell dissects two books that testify to the establishment's increasingly dishevelled efforts to counter and to contain Holocaust revisionism, Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman's *Denying History* and Richard Evans's post-Irving trial *Lying about History*.

This issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* marks an editorial changing of the guard that signifies both growth and continuity. As the Institute of Historical Review builds and expands in the aftermath of the long Carto wars, IHR director Mark Weber, who since 1992 has edited this journal to the highest standard, finds himself compelled to devote all of his considerable talents to his directorial duties. I shall devote my energies and my experience as editor of the JHR (1988-1992) to upholding that standard.

Theodore J. O'Keefe

World Revisionist Conference Banned in Lebanon under Jewish Pressure

Whoever doubted the social-political importance of Holocaust revisionism could doubt it no more following the success of frantic efforts this March by Jewish groups, supported by the U.S. government, to ban a peaceful, privately organized revisionist meeting in Lebanon.

Caving in to pressure from the State Department and powerful Zionist organizations, the Lebanese government banned the much-publicized "Revisionism and Zionism" conference nine days before it was to begin in Beirut. Scholars, researchers, and activists from a range of countries had been set to address the four-day meeting, which was to take place March 31 through April 3. Organized by the Swiss group Vérité et Justice ("Truth and Justice"), in cooperation with the Institute for Historical Review, the revisionist historical conference would have been the first in an Arab country. It was meant to reflect and further strengthen the growing cooperation between independent scholars in Europe, the United States, and Middle East countries.

Among those scheduled to address the conference were:

- Robert Faurisson, Europe's leading revisionist scholar, repeatedly persecuted by French authorities for his views.
- Roger Garaudy, prominent French scholar, author of *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel* (published in the U.S. by the IHR), for which he was fined \$40,000 by a Paris court in 1998.
- Horst Mahler, noted German attorney and author.
- Jürgen Graf, Vérité et Justice director, who was sentenced by a Swiss court in 1998 to fifteen months imprisonment for "Holocaust denial," then chose exile rather than serving the politically motivated sentence.
- Fredrick Töben, Ph.D., director of the Adelaide Institute in Australia.
- Henri Roques, French scholar and author of *The "Confessions" of Kurt Gerstein*.
- Mark Weber, American historian and IHR director.
- Oleg Platonov, Russian historian.
- Robert Countess, Ph.D., American educator, writer, and publisher.

A dozen reporters had registered to cover the event, including writers for *Newsweek* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and journalists from the United States, Leba-

non, Egypt, Britain, Germany, Austria, and Sweden.

Weeks before the conference was to begin, three influential Jewish groups — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — publicly demanded that Lebanese authorities ban it.

Typical was a declaration by the Anti-Defamation League, which mendaciously claimed that this "anti-Semitic and racist" meeting of "Holocaust deniers" would promote "hatred" in the Middle East. (The ADL has been in the news recently for its role in persuading President Clinton to pardon fugitive felon Marc Rich, who had given \$250,000 to the Jewish group.)

In line with the Jewish effort, the U.S. government brought covert pressure on the Lebanese to ban the meeting, as the Beirut daily *As-Safir* revealed on March 3. The paper's seasoned Washington correspondent reported that the State Department had warned Lebanese officials of harmful consequences for their country if they did not prohibit the meeting. Washington's pressure was brought to bear on Lebanon's ambassador in Washington, and also conveyed by the American ambassador in Beirut and certain some U.S. Congressmen.

On learning of the *As-Safir* report (which other newspapers later independently confirmed), the IHR immediately contacted the State Department's public affairs bureau for an explanation. Although an official named Greg Sullivan promised to look into the matter and quickly respond, in spite of numerous follow-up calls and letters he never did.

The IHR strongly denounced the campaign to prohibit the conference, stressing that the peaceful, privately organized meeting would be entirely legal in most countries, including the United States. Similar meetings hosted by the IHR have been held peacefully in the U.S. for over twenty years, IHR director Weber pointed out. "People everywhere," he said, "should have the right to investigate and make up their own minds about twentieth century history, including 'the Holocaust,' free of censorship and intimidation. Lebanese are entitled to the same standard of freedom of speech and expression as people in other countries."

The Zionist groups behind the campaign, said Weber, "betray an arrogant double standard. That these Jewish groups, ardent supporters of Israel's oppressive and criminal policies, should demand anything of Lebanon, a country that has repeatedly been a victim of

Zionist aggression, is an expression of brazen arrogance.”

The campaign to ban the revisionist history meeting “underscores the need for precisely such a conference. It shows, once again, how greatly Zionist groups fear open debate about ‘the Holocaust,’ which is a major weapon in the Israeli-Zionist arsenal. This ban points up the fragile and mendacious character of what even a few courageous Jewish scholars are aptly calling the ‘Holocaust cult’ and the ‘Holocaust industry.’”

The conference ban, said Vérité et Justice in a statement, “dramatically demonstrates how a small group manipulates public opinion, thereby depriving the public of its legitimate right to know.” Behind the cancellation, the statement continued, are “the Zionists who, thanks to their iron grip on the media of the West, have succeeded for more than five decades in imposing their distortions of history on the world. They control, to a large extent, newspapers, books, films, theater, and even universities. This control has enabled them to brainwash the broad public, which unknowingly accepts many Zionist legends and downright lies as indisputable historical facts. The so-called ‘Holocaust’ is but the most extreme example.”

Washington’s secretive campaign to ban the Beirut conference is “hypocritical and bullying,” said Weber, who also called the Lebanese government ban “an outrageous assault against freedom of speech and expression.”

Although the conference cancellation was a disappointment and a setback, the organizational effort was not in vain. The widespread media attention it generated boosted international awareness of Holocaust revisionism, including the work and impact of the Institute for Historical Review. While most press coverage was unfriendly, even hostile, some reports — seemingly reflecting a steady tread — were remarkably objective. A number of articles respectfully quoted IHR spokesmen on a basis of parity with spokesmen for well-entrenched Jewish groups.

In a statement made public in mid-March, fourteen Arab intellectuals condemned the Beirut conference and called on Lebanese authorities to ban it. But the widely publicized declaration soon proved something of an embarrassment for its backers. Edward Said, a prominent Palestine-born scholar who teaches at Columbia University, repudiated the statement two weeks later, saying that he had been deceived about its content. He explained that he had never, in fact,

approved any call to ban the conference. Another signer, Elias Khoury, expressed embarrassment that the statement was hailed by Israel’s ambassador to France.

Further information about the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference, including numerous press reports on the campaign to ban it, is posted on the “Beirut 2001” section of the IHR web site: <http://ihr.org>

Around the globe, awareness is growing of the importance of the Holocaust story as a key propaganda tool of Israeli-Zionist interests. Ever more Europeans, for example, understand how Israel and Zionist groups exploit “the Holocaust” to blackmail countries and corporations for billions of dollars for Israel and Zionist organizations, and to excuse otherwise inexcusable policies of the Jewish state.

This growing awareness has been transmitted to the Middle East, above all as a consequence of the 1998 trial in Paris of the prominent French Muslim scholar Roger Garaudy, who was fined \$40,000 for his book *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, which presents compelling evidence refuting the orthodox Holocaust story and other historical legends. (An attractive American edition is published by the IHR.)

Iran’s official radio voice to the world, IRIB, has in recent years expressed support for Holocaust revisionism by broadcasting sympathetic interviews with leading revisionist scholars and activists. Several interviews with IHR Director Mark Weber have been aired on the English-language service, and similar interviews have been broadcast with Ernst Zündel in German and with Ahmed Rami in Arabic. IRIB short-wave radio reaches millions in the Middle East, Europe, and Asia.

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If you believe in the Institute for Historical Review and its fight for freedom and truth in history, please remember the IHR in your will or designate the IHR as a beneficiary of your life insurance policy. It can make all the difference.

If you have already mentioned the Institute in your will or life insurance policy, or if you would like further information, please let us know.

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The Thought Heard 'Round the World

GREG RAVEN

Even though seven years have elapsed since the Internet burst into prominence in 1994 due to the addition of the "World Wide Web" (often abbreviated "WWW") to electronic mail ("e-mail"), file transfer, and other existing features, it is difficult to know whether this is the wave of the future, a passing fad, or a stepping-stone to something yet to come. One thing certain is that revisionist materials on the Internet drive anti-revisionists crazy.

The *Journal* has covered efforts by governments to silence revisionists. If these attempts to regulate freedom of speech are successful, then the Internet cannot survive, and freedom of speech everywhere is threatened. However, the premise, that the laws of one country should be used to determine Internet content in other countries, is ludicrous, and almost certainly will lead to the downfall of efforts to control Internet content; imagine Muslim countries attempting to control the Internet because pornography is available, or the Communist Chinese because some Web sites publicize human rights abuses.

Discussions and Debates

Before the World Wide Web made the Internet so popular, electronic presentations of revisionist viewpoints were confined to computer systems of which one had to be a member. Non-members had no way of following discussions, and material presented on one computer system would not appear on any other computer system without someone laboriously copying it.

Now, virtually anyone who can connect to the Internet can view revisionist materials, and participate in discussions and debates with others interested in revisionism. The longest-running and most active of these forums is alt.revisionism, an Internet discussion area (technically, a "newsgroup") that allows visitors to read existing messages, respond to topics of interest, and post new messages. Discussions are free-wheeling, to say the least, and are often larded with the type of personal attacks that tend to surface when one is not face-to-face with one's target.

There are also moderated discussion areas.

Greg Raven maintains the IHR's Web site at <http://ihr.org>.

Although typically moderators do not allow participants to express revisionist viewpoints, even so, it can be worthwhile to monitor discussion areas such as this to keep up with the current trends in establishment historiography.

Electronic Messages

It is difficult to overstate the extent to which e-mail (electronic mail, most often sent over the Internet) facilitates communication. It does not matter whether your message is going to the next-door neighbor or to a far continent, delivery is free, and in many cases, almost instantaneous. In addition, one message can be sent to dozens or even hundreds of recipients simultaneously with a few keystrokes, eliminating printing costs, envelope stuffing, and postage expenses.

These characteristics have been a boon to revisionists. Revisionists major and minor around the world use mass e-mail to keep other revisionists up-to-date on breaking news and developments. Recipients can easily (and often do) "forward" copies of received messages to others, so that in a matter of hours revisionist news can move around the globe at a speed that makes fax machines look antiquated.

Registration for the recent (since cancelled) revisionist conference in Beirut was greatly facilitated by e-mail, as messages from speakers, participants, and journalists flooded into the IHR, where they were answered and sent back within twenty-four hours. Without e-mail, pulling together such a diverse group of persons from dozens of countries around the world would have been next to impossible.

If receiving streams of revisionist material every day is a problem because you live in a country where such material is forbidden, it is trivially easy to obtain a free e-mail account under an alias. These accounts have the additional advantage that they allow retrieval of messages from just about any computer anywhere in the world. Even if you are on the move, you don't have to be out of touch with the revisionist community.

The Web

The utilitarian nature of other Internet features notwithstanding, the multi-media capabilities of the Web are what is driving the explosion in interest in the Internet. In 1994, when IHR material first appeared on the Web, there were relatively little few Web sites in existence, and not much other interesting material. The

growth in the intervening years has been dramatic, to the point that now, newcomers to the Web take for granted that whatever they are seeking is available somewhere, and usually for free. Library card catalogs (including that of the Library of Congress), historical documents, and out-of-print books are all available on the Web. Today, the average Internet user has more news and information at his fingertips than editors at major metropolitan daily newspapers had ten years ago.

The integration of Web materials and e-mail capabilities make it possible for any Internet user to act as a "clipping service," e-mailing others magazine and newspaper articles, and other Web materials, without having to retype them. To use the Beirut Conference as an example once again, articles in the Arab-language press were picked up by Arabic-speaking IHR associates from Web sites in the Middle East, translated into English, and e-mailed to the IHR, where they were available the next day on our Web site in translation.

With dozens of supporters around the world sending electronic "clippings" every day, not every clipping

is going to be germane. Even so, those materials that cannot be used by the IHR are often forwarded electronically to others for use elsewhere.

Simple and Effective

Without the Internet, the control of the mass media by groups and individuals hostile to historical truth would doom a small publisher such as the IHR to eking out an existence on the fringe. With a well-designed and highly visible Web site (www.ihr.org), the IHR can be on nearly equal footing with huge organizations such as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and the Simon Wiesenthal Center in making material available to the average computer user.

This has led to an increasing number of citations of revisionist Web sites in articles dealing with historical topics such as the Holocaust. Not only does the IHR Web site allow journalists from around the world to quickly and easily contact the IHR, it allows their readers to quickly find and peruse revisionist materials, so they can make up their own minds about historical events. 

MEDIA REVIEW

The Shoah: Fictive Images and Mere Belief?

ROBERT FAURISSON

The photography exposition "Mémoire des camps," currently on view in Paris at the seventeenth century palace known as the Hôtel de Sully, is stirring disquiet in some Jewish circles. This exposition, from which care has been taken to eliminate a few too obvious fakes, renders all the more stark, in our materialist age of the image, of photography and television, the absence of any photograph and of any material element which might prove that the Jews were, during the 1939–1945 war, "victims of an industrially planned extermination." The last six words are those of Jacques Mandelbaum, a staff writer at the daily *Le Monde*. In an article entitled "La Shoah et ces images qui nous manquent" ("The Shoah and those images we lack," January 2001, p.17), the journalist does not conceal his perplex-

Robert Faurisson's trailblazing essay "Le 'problème des chambres à gaz,'" first appeared in *Le Monde* in 1978.

ity.

Mandelbaum writes that "no [true] images describing this crime are available." He speaks, with regard to Auschwitz, of Soviet "propaganda pictures," adding:

Some of these [Soviet propaganda] pictures were nonetheless reused later as authentic archival documents. All the known images concerning this crime are thus, if not false, at least inappropriate. Including, and perhaps especially, those of the heaps of corpses discovered in the concentration camps, the spectacular horror of which is still far from the reality.

He reminds the reader that it is precisely because of the non-existence of real images that it has been "possible to produce images by way of fiction," and he thinks that fiction "is in the process of winning out." The organizers of the exposition go so far as to assert, as has Jean-Claude Pressac, that this or that photograph was taken from inside an Auschwitz gas chamber. Skeptical, the journalist asks: "From a gas chamber or from another building?"

Despite the objections voiced by revisionists, cer-

tain authors have dared to claim that, in the 1944 photographs taken by Allied pilots from high above the Auschwitz complex, the buildings containing the homicidal gas chambers could be discerned. Mandelbaum notes that, in these photographs, all "things existing at Auschwitz can be deciphered, except the presence of the gas chambers." He returns to "the insufferable lack of [authentic] images of the extermination," and he mentions a dispute amongst exterminationist authors "literally haunted by the near-total absence of photos relating to the extermination." In passing, he assails "the ineptness of the [exposition's] organizers."

In sum, this Shoah, the historical character of which Mandelbaum of course upholds, is at present reduced, on the one hand, to fictive images (he writes "images largely inappropriate") and, on the other hand, to a belief, itself founded on fictive images.

Mandelbaum concludes:

If seeing is believing, how can it be admitted henceforth that, with regard to the Shoah, the [authentic] image is precisely what is lacking?

This last question, which is clear, and the other

quoted remarks, which are not without punch, have been wrested with much difficulty from the fuzzy mass of Mandelbaum's article. The journalist, writing in a yeshiva-style French, employs numerous contortions of language. He strives systematically to save the Holocaustic bacon, and also, perhaps, to leave an eventual escape route for himself and his newspaper — whereupon *Le Monde*, come the day when the myth of the Shoah needs scuttling, will be able to pride itself on Mandelbaum's article and on a few others just as oblique.

More than twenty years ago, Pierre Vidal-Naquet and his co-religionists began to beat a retreat in the face of the revisionist upsurge, disowning some of the more blatant lies of their own propaganda. Over the years, they have made a habit of attributing such deceptive inventions to the Communists, the Russians, or the Poles. In this case, it is clear that *Le Monde*'s journalist is imputing the counterfeit coin of Auschwitz to the Soviets.

January 25, 2001



FIRST PERSON

At the Tolerance Museum

MACKENZIE PAYNE

Teaching tolerance through "Holocaust education" in the public schools is now the law in cities, counties, and states across America. As revisionists are well aware, the standard account of the Jewish Holocaust taught in such courses is more than dubious. So too are the controversial methods, including "role playing" and similar types of psychological manipulation. But does Holocaust education really promote tolerance?

I recently had the opportunity to answer that question for myself when I visited the Simon Wiesenthal Center's Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles. And, since it is our children who are now the chief targets of "Holocaust education," I took my own two sons with me to gauge the museum's impact, and their reactions.

Prior to our visit, I interviewed my sons on things

MacKenzie Paine battles intolerance disguised as tolerance from a dusty hilltop in Mexico.

the Museum of Tolerance regards as key issues for elementary school pupils. Their innocence was evident. They had no concept of Jewishness, were aware of no people or nation that was inherently evil, and knew of Hitler and the Nazis only what they had seen in Hollywood movies. They are both fifth-graders who attend a Catholic school in Mexico, and their outlook is entirely appropriate for their ages and life experience.

On a dreary Sunday morning in early March, we joined the long line for the Museum of Tolerance. Germar Rudolf, visiting town to discuss his role as an expert witness in David Irving's upcoming appeal, accompanied us. We waited, along with dozens of school groups, as each visitor was subjected to a security procedure more searching than any airport or border check I've ever experienced.

After a short explanation of how the tour would proceed, we were pointed toward two large doors. Above them, bright red neon signs designated one door "Not-Prejudiced," the other, "Prejudiced." On a nearby video, a rather sarcastic actor challenged the visitors to consider whether or not they were prejudiced. Then

each of us was instructed to choose the door that matched our attitudes. As the already humbled mass ambled herd-like toward the "Prejudiced" portal, I opted to try the "Not-Prejudiced" door. It couldn't be opened — it was fake. So began the brainwashing of yet another group of young Americans.

The first part of the tour is an emotional barrage of film clips and still photos showing racial strife, riots, and suffering Third World children. There may have been a European-American pictured without a Ku Klux Klan robe, but if there was I missed it. It hurt to see my sons viewing such violence and carnage, so I tried to rush them through as quickly as possible.

Then came the feature presentation, the Holocaust exhibit. The tour is self-guided, so there is no one to ask questions of, no one to challenge. The visitors simply go from one grayish display of mannequins and recorded "conversations" to another. All of them "explain" the political environment of 1930s Germany, without the least attempt at balance or accuracy. As Germar dryly commented after the causes of the Second World War had been neatly packed into a three-minute explanation, "They forgot to mention the Russian Revolution."

The third part of the tour is an emotional assault on the psyche. I watched my two sons gulp, their eyes wide, as they viewed the usual photographs of heaps of corpses and listened to recorded descriptions of diesel gassings, viewed photographs "ordinary" Germans said to have helped the Nazis shoot Jewish civilians, black and white films of people carrying all of their worldly belongings, and more. All of these images flash across multiple screens in a darkened room, and the students absorb them like sponges.

Then came the grand finale, a forty-five minute lecture from Elizabeth Mann, a self-professed Holocaust survivor, to a now traumatized roomful of students and teachers. At the end of her monologue I asked Mrs. Mann why she had told so many impressionable young people that the Germans made soap out of Jewish corpses during the Second World War, when even the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum says that wasn't so. She responded that she disagreed with the USHMM. How's that? Differences of opinion are one thing, but arguing for a heinous accusation that has never been substantiated, and is dismissed by virtually all historians as false, is quite another. But this was lost on the students.

I next asked Mrs. Mann why she had told her audience that the "gas chamber" at Auschwitz was a dual-

purpose shower room, which could be converted into a homicidal gas chamber with the flip of a switch. The lethal gas, she had told us, came out of the showerheads. When I pointed out that all the "orthodox" Holocaust literature on Auschwitz describes only rooms into which the poison was dropped — in granules — through windows or holes in the roof, the room erupted into hisses and boos. Mrs. Mann, saved by the booing, made no response.

Once outside the lecture hall, the students called me over to ask me how I could possibly question such a sweet, elderly woman who had suffered so much. They accused me of calling her a liar. I was happy to explain to them, as a mother to her children, that I hadn't accused Mrs. Mann of lying. I had simply questioned some of the things that she had said. I looked out into the group and could see fear in some of the faces, as if they were being confronted by a lunatic with a gun, and I beseeched them to visit the USHMM's Internet Web site and read for themselves what that museum's authorities say about the soap libel, and about gassing at Auschwitz. When one of the teenagers asked me how I knew that soap wasn't made at Auschwitz, Germar, identifying himself as a chemist, told them calmly that it would have been physically impossible to make soap out of human fat in the buildings at Auschwitz. There had been no facilities for such an undertaking.

With each of our responses the group became more unruly, sarcastic, and intolerant. Rather than ask responsible questions or make clear arguments, at last they resorted to taunting us, calling Germar a Nazi and telling us to "f___ off." They frightened my sons, so we left, but not before they ended their outburst by chasing our van out of the underground parking lot. Their teacher was helpless to stop them, although she tried.

My sons and I learned a lesson at the Museum of Tolerance, a lesson about intolerance — taxpayer-funded, state-sanctioned intolerance — not merely of Germans and Christians and European-Americans, but also of intellectual curiosity and reasoned dissent. While I was able to "de-program" my sons with some healthy discussion and simple logic, I'm one of the fortunate few who have heard the revisionist side. If that angry mob of teenagers is indicative of the effect Holocaust studies have on our children, America risks schooling a generation in bigotry. ☀

Behind An Eye for An Eye

Revenge, Hate and History

JOHN SACK

THREE YEARS AGO I WAS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The speech was announced in this brochure and also on the Internet. But then the Museum canceled it.

For the next forty-five minutes, I'll say *here* what I'd planned to say at the Holocaust Museum, and then, just as I'd have done at the Museum, I'll stay here as long as you'd like, answering questions. The audience at the Museum would have been historians, mostly, and I'd have said something like ...

Thank you. Thank you for inviting me, thank you for *listening* to me. What I'm going to talk about happened fifty years ago. And for fifty years, no one, no historian, no one at *all* has spoken about it in public anywhere in the world. Not until now.

Now myself, I'm not an historian, I'm a reporter. And what I write is the raw material of history, something that historians will — I hope — someday make some sense of. I go places. I watch events. I listen to people. And then I tell stories. And I'll start by telling one now. A true story about a teenage girl.

John Sack is one of America's most eminent literary journalists. His reporting over more than half a century, from North and South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, has appeared in such periodicals as *Harper's*, *The Atlantic*, and *The New Yorker*. He has been a war correspondent in Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Yugoslavia, as well as CBS News bureau chief in Spain. He is the author of nine non-fiction books, including *M, Lieutenant Calley: His Story*, and *Company C*, as well as *An Eye for an Eye* (available from the IHR). The founding editor of *Esquire* magazine has compared his writing to that of F. Scott Fitzgerald and Ernest Hemingway. For more about Sack and his career, see his Web site: <http://www.johnsack.com>.

This essay, slightly edited, was presented on May 29, 2000, at the 13th IHR conference. For more about his travails with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, see "Suppressing the Story of Genocide Against Germans," in the Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*. "Inside the Bunker," a lengthy article by Sack based on his participation at the 13th IHR Conference, appeared in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire*.

Lola

Blonde hair, brown eyes, very pretty. In high school she's doing the flying rings, trapeze, acting in *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. She's one of the title characters. She comes home. She's skipping through the streets singing, "On the Good Ship Lollipop ..." Not exactly. She's really singing [in accented English], "On the Good Ship Lollipop ..." Because she's a Polish girl, and she's in Bedzin, Poland, in the 1930s. Her name is Lola Potok.

And when she's 18 years old, the Nazis invade. Lola is put on a train to the town of Oswiecim — we know it as Auschwitz. Her baby, one year old, is ripped from her arms; she never sees the baby again. She isn't sent to the cyanide chamber, but her mother is. Her mother is killed, her brother and sister, nieces and nephews are killed. Fourteen people.

(You know, I wasn't going to say this at the Holocaust Museum, but in this particular room I know there are people who don't believe there were cyanide cham-

bers at Auschwitz. I believe, and Lola believes, there were cyanide chambers at Auschwitz.)

Her mother was killed. Her brother and sister, nieces and nephews were killed. Fourteen people. The one brother at Auschwitz who's still alive stands on the gallows and says in Yiddish, "Nem nekumah! Take revenge!" Then he's hanged.

Revenge

In January 1945, Lola escapes. She weighs sixty-six pounds. Her eyes are hollow. Her hair is this short. Her back has been broken. Her hand is mangled. She's wearing two left shoes. All the people she loves are dead, or she *thinks* so, and she is just *bursting* with hate. She wants to release that hate, to spew it onto the Germans. One of her childhood friends is in the Polish government, and Lola goes to him and tells him, "I want revenge."

And two months later the war is still going on, and Lola is now in Germany, the part occupied by the Russians and administered by the Poles. Lola's in an olive-colored uniform. On her jacket are brass buttons. On her collar, what the GIs call scrambled eggs. On her shoulders are stars. On her hip is a Luger. Lola is working for the Polish government, she is the commandant of a prison for Germans, and she is attempting to take revenge for the Holocaust.

Now, Lola is a Jewish girl. She's studied the Torah, and the Torah says, "You shall not take revenge." Lola knows that. She's disobeying that. But is there any of us here who'd condemn her? Any of us who can't understand her? I can understand her, and I can have *rachmanis*, compassion, for her.

I met Lola Potok. It was in April 1986. I'm living in Hollywood. I'm a writer, and I have a meeting at Paramount. And the secretary there, she's reading something I wrote about the Billionaire Boys Club. She tells me, "I like it. It reminds me of my family."

I say, "The Billionaire Boys Club? Your family?" Secretary says, "Yes, all those murders. My mother, Lola, was at Auschwitz." I say, "Oh." Secretary says, "And after that, my mother commanded a prison full of Nazis." I say, "What? She commanded ..." I say, "Do you know there's a movie there?" I say, "You should tell Lynda," Lynda is the producer, the secretary's boss, but the secretary tells me, "I *know* there's a movie. I *won't* tell Lynda. I want to produce it myself!"

There's a saying in Hollywood: a producer is someone, *anyone*, who knows a writer. I'm a writer, the secretary knows me, and therefore she's a producer. We're

in business together. The deal is, I'll write a magazine article on Lola, her mother, and the secretary will make a movie from it.

Cut. A few days later. Hollywood, the Moustache Cafe. I'm having spinach crepe. I'm having dinner with Lola. An elegant woman. Coral lipstick, black eyeliner, like on a femme fatale. Speaks five languages fluently. She's sixty-six years old. And Lola starts telling me her story.

Gleiwitz

At the end of World War II, she tells me, she commanded a prison in Gleiwitz, Germany. She says the inmates were German soldiers. But she says some were Nazis, even SS, *pretending* to be German soldiers, and Lola was looking for them. Looking for Höss and Hössler, the commandants at Auschwitz. Looking for Mengele, the man who once said to her mother, "Go left, you die"; who said to Lola, "Go right, you live." And if Lola ever found him, she didn't know what she'd do. But she'd do it.

And Lola tells me: One day in her prison she found a Gestapo man. Fat, forty years old. Under his arm was a tattoo. It said A or B. It was his blood type. Everyone in the Gestapo had it. Lola freaked out. She started screaming, "Du schmutziger Schwein! Du verfluchtes Schwein! Du ... How many Jews did you kill?" She slapped him. The man was down on the floor. He was hugging her boots, saying, "Gnade! Gnade! Have mercy on me!" and Lola was kicking him and kicking ...

This story of Lola's: Is there anyone here who likes it? I didn't like it. I didn't want to write it. I thought it was ugly. Lola didn't like it. She told me her mother, if she were alive, wouldn't like it. Her mother used to read to her from the Torah and tell her, "You mustn't hate. It only hurts you. It corrodes your soul."

And Lola said that after some months in Gleiwitz, she remembered this. She was in the prison one day. And there was a Jewish guard there. His face was red. His teeth were bare. There was spit on his teeth. Ugly, ugly. The man had a whip. He was screaming in Polish, "You son of a whore." He was whipping a German prisoner. Lola said, "Stop." Lola said, "Why are you whipping him?" The man said, "Well, the Germans did it to me!" Lola said, "And now you hate them?" The man said, "I *despise* them!" Lola said, "Well, if you despise them, why do you want to be *like* them?" Because to Lola, to *Lola*, this man, this Jew, he looked, talked, acted just like the Nazis she'd known at Auschwitz.

At that time, Lola didn't care about the Germans,

the German prisoners. They could have dropped dead for all she cared. But she told me she cared about the Jewish guard. For years the Nazis had called him a pig, a dog, and if now he'd truly become a beast, then who had won, the Jew or the Nazis? So according to Lola, she called all the guards to her office and said to them that from now on, we'll treat the Germans like human beings. And from then on, Lola told me, that's what she did.

Writing Lola's Story

Now, this story I liked. If it was true, this was a story worth telling. I had this dream: maybe the Serbs and Croats will read it, the Irish Catholics and Protestants will read it, the Hutus and Tutsis, the Israelis and Palestinians ... Maybe they'll read it, and maybe they'll learn, as Lola did, that to hate your neighbors may or may not destroy them, but it does destroy *yourself*. And maybe these people will stop their revenge, stop their genocide.

We Jews always say of the Holocaust, "Never again. Never again will people hurt us simply because we are Jews." But Lola was apparently saying, "Yes, and never again will I hurt a *German* simply because he's a German." Fifty years ago, Lola was apparently saying, "Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me." This story I wanted very much to write. So ...

I start interviewing Lola. At the Inn of the Seventh Ray in Los Angeles. At a Jewish cemetery in New Jersey. On the Champs Elysées in Paris. I interview Lola on and off for two-and-a-half years. Her memories just pour out, and she also introduces me to a dozen other people, all Jews: people who knew her in Gleiwitz, prison guards in Gleiwitz, even the man who appointed her the commandant in Gleiwitz.

I write a twenty-page article on Lola's revenge and Lola's redemption. Lola reads it and likes it. The story runs in *California* magazine. Lola, at her own expense, comes to Washington to promote it on National Public Radio. The story is sold internationally, and it's reprinted in *Best Magazine Articles, 1988*. We have movie offers. Bette Midler and Suzanne Somers want to play the Lola part.

And then I write a book proposal. I write, "It's Lola's redemption, not Lola's revenge, that this book's about." I'll go to Germany. I'll find some prisoners maybe. I'll go to Poland. I'll find some more guards, maybe. I'll write a book. The title will be *Lola*. And in August 1988, the publisher Henry Holt in New York City says, "Okay! We want it!" Good news, and I phone it to Lola.

And Lola on the telephone says, "Listen, John, I don't want you to write it." I say, "Lola? Lola, this is the first time you've told that to me." I say, "Lola, we signed a contract." We had signed one. Lola had written, "I grant you the exclusive right to write and to publish a book about my life."

Threats

That night I go to Lola's apartment in Hollywood. Anyone here ever been in an encounter group? Remember your first night? Everyone shouting and screaming. You're just sitting there stupefied. You're thinking, "What is going *on*?" Well, I'm in Lola's condo. Lola is saying, "Lookit, John. I don't like the way you write. You write like a *reporter*. If you start writing this book, I will stop you. I will *stop* you!"

Lola's daughter is there. She's saying, "John, give it up. I'm begging you to give it up. John! Give it up!" Another daughter of Lola's is there. She's a lawyer, and she says, "John! You're going to have instantaneous and very expensive litigation!" Lola's saying, "I'll go to court." The daughter's saying, "John, I want you to sign this release. John! Sign the release!" The other daughter's saying, "John! Just leave us! Just go!" Lola's saying, "John! Get out of our lives!"

I leave. I telephone Lola but she doesn't answer. I write her, but she sends the letters back, unopened, inscribed "refused."

And not just Lola. Lola's second-in-command at the prison in Gleiwitz was Moshe, also a Jew. He won't talk to me. His wife on the telephone says, "We don't give you the permission to write this." I say, "I ... You ..." That's what I say, "I ... You ... One doesn't *need* permission!" I *have* permission, from the Constitution of the United States. Moshe's wife hangs up.

And then there is Jadzia, also a Jew, she was one of Lola's guards in Gleiwitz. Jadzia says on the telephone, "I was never in Gleiwitz!" Then she says, "Yes, I was in Gleiwitz, but I'll never talk about it!" And then she talks for an hour saying, "I don't know nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing. Nothing! Nothing!"

People won't talk to me. People tell other people, "Don't talk to John Sack." People talk to me, and they lie to me. People say they'll sue me, they'll destroy me, they'll *kill* me. One man takes my driver's license, writes down my address, and says, "If you write about me, I will call the Israeli Mafia."

Here's some advice. Never tell a reporter, "You'd better not write this." I have a contract with Henry Holt. I've made a promise to Henry Holt. I keep my promises.

Doing the Research

In April 1989, I fly to Germany. I go to this castle, this concrete castle, high on a hill above the Rhine. It's the German Federal Archives, and they've got forty thousand statements there by Germans who lived in what now is Poland during World War II. The statements of course are in German, in German script, and I find five statements from Germans who were in Lola's prison.

I go to another place in Germany: a great medieval hall, with banners on the stone walls. It's a reunion of a thousand people from Gleiwitz. They're drinking beer. They're eating sausages and sauerkraut. They're laughing and singing, "Ein prosit, ein prosit ..." And I'm like a little flower girl. You know, the girl who goes from table to table selling roses? I'm going around asking, "Uh, excuse me. Anyone here who was in prison in Gleiwitz?" Yeah, I am a party pooper. I admit it. But eventually I find five of Lola's prisoners.

I take the train to Gleiwitz. Now it's Gliwice, Poland. And going through Communist East Berlin, I'm arrested, taken off the train, and locked up in a little room because with me I have a copy of the book *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Gebieten östlich der Oder-Neisse* ["The Expulsion of the German Population from the Territories East of the Oder-Neisse," published in the 1950s by the Bonn government]. Hours later I'm let out and I get to Gleiwitz/ Gliwice at four in the morning. It's a city of two hundred thousand people, almost none of whom speak English. I don't speak Polish, but I find three of Lola's guards. They remember her well.

It's 1989, Poland is still Communist, but I get into Lola's prison, into the prisoners' cells. I tell them, "Djien dobre. Good morning." I see the prison records. Remember when, according to Lola, she went to the Polish government and said, "I want revenge"? Well, I find her application, in her own handwriting. She wrote, "I want to cooperate against our German oppressors." I find the official document appointing her commandant in Gleiwitz.

After that, I go to Germany *eleven* more times, to Poland three more times, to France, Austria, Israel, Canada, and all around the United States. Through interpreters I talk to two hundred people in Polish and Russian, Danish and Swedish, German and Dutch, French and Spanish, Yiddish and Hebrew. I left out English. I get three hundred hours of tape-recorded interviews, and I see thousands of documents.

And what do I learn? Well: Lola was telling the truth.

She was the commandant in Gleiwitz. And she was taking revenge. She slapped the Germans around. And just as she said, she stopped. I remember one day in 1989, I'm having lunch with one of her guards at the Hotel Leszny. We're eating wienerschnitzel. And out of the blue the man says, "You know, Lola stopped. She told us, 'Stop!' She said, 'We're going to show the Germans we're not like them.'"

The Facts Come Out

So Lola was telling the truth. But, she wasn't telling the whole truth. Lola had told me the people in her prison were German soldiers. And yes, twenty of them were German soldiers, men who worked as painters, carpenters, and such. But there were a thousand other prisoners there, and they were German civilians: German men, German women, German children.

One prisoner was a fourteen-year-old boy. He had been out in Gleiwitz wearing his boy scout pants. A man cried out, "You're wearing black pants! You're a fascist!" and he chased the boy and tackled him at the Church of Saint Peter and Paul, and then took him to Lola's prison. Now, the boy was completely innocent. So were most of the people in Lola's prison. They weren't Gestapo. They weren't SS. They weren't even Nazis. Out of a thousand prisoners, just twenty were ever even accused of it.

But the Germans in Lola's prison were slapped and whipped. And I'm so sorry to have to say it, but they were also tortured. The boy scout: the guards poured gasoline on his curly black hair and set it on fire. The boy went insane. The men: they were beaten with a *Totschläger*, a "beater-to-death." It's a long steel spring with a big lead ball at the end. You use it like a racketball racket. Your arm, your wrist, the spring: they deliver a triple hit to a German's face.

Lola didn't tell me, but the Germans in her prison were dying. I found their death certificates in Gleiwitz city hall. One of Lola's guards told me, "Yeah, the Germans would die." He told me, "I'd put the bodies in a horse-drawn cart. I'd cover them with potato peels so no one would see. I'd ride to the outskirts and, after I threw the potato peels out, I'd take the Germans to the Catholic cemetery. To the mass grave."

We all know about Auschwitz. But I have to tell you, the Germans in Lola's prison were worse off than Lola had been at Auschwitz. Lola at Auschwitz wasn't locked in a room night and day. She wasn't tortured night after night. She herself told me: "Thank God, nobody tried to rape us. The Germans weren't allowed to." But all of

that happened to German girls at Lola's prison in Gleiwitz.

One woman I talked with wasn't even German. She was Polish. In 1945 she was twenty years old: a tall, blonde, beautiful medical student. The guards at Lola's prison pulled off her clothes and told her, "Let's do it!" They beat her and beat her, night after night, until she was black and blue. One morning, she came back to her cell and fell on the floor, sobbing. Her cellmate asked her, "What, what is that blue thing you're wearing? Oh, oh, it's your skin."

And ten feet away was Lola's office. Lola in her brass, braid, and stars. I once asked her, "Lola, where did you get that uniform?" and Lola said, "Well, the Russians must've given it to me." That wasn't the whole truth either.

Lola was in the Polish secret police. Its name was the Office of State Security, in Polish the Urzad Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego. The Germans called it the Polish Gestapo. One of its missions was to round up Nazi suspects. But for all practical purposes, if you were a German, you were a Nazi suspect. So the mission was to round up Germans, imprison them, interrogate them, and if they confess, prosecute them.

In the Office of State Security, the lower ranks were Polish Catholics, but most of the leaders were Polish Jews. The chief of the Office in Warsaw was a Jew. (When I was in Poland he wasn't alive, but I met some of his family.) The department directors, all or almost all of them, were Jews.

In Silesia, the province where Lola was commandant, the director of the Office of State Security was a Jew. I met him in Copenhagen, a little bald-headed man. The director of prisons was also a Jew. I met his whole family in Tel Aviv. The secretary of state security was a Jew. I met him time and again at his home in New Jersey. And in the Office of State Security in Silesia in February 1945, of the officers — not the enlisted men, not the guards, but the lieutenants, captains and such — one-fourth were Catholics, and three-fourths were Jews.

Solomon Morel

I interviewed twenty-four of them. And I learned that the Office of State Security ran 227 prisons for German civilians like Lola's. It also ran 1,255 concentration camps, and I interviewed four of the commandants. They were also Jews. One was Lola's boy friend, a man who'd lost in the Holocaust his mother, his father, all his brothers (he had no sisters), all his uncles and aunts,

and all but one of his cousins. I hope that, like me, you can all have compassion for Solomon Morel.

But one night in February, 1945, Solomon went to his concentration camp in the city of Swietochlowice. He went into the Germans' barracks, and said, "My name is Captain Morel. I am a Jew. I was at Auschwitz. I swore I would take revenge on you Nazis." They weren't Nazis, but Solomon said, "Now! Everyone! Sing the Horst Wessel song!" That was a Nazi anthem. No one wanted to sing it. One boy, fourteen years old, didn't even know it.

Solomon had a club. He said, "Sing it!" Some people began, "Die Fahne hoch! Die Reihen fest geschlossen ..." "Sing it! Sing it, I say!" They started singing, "Clear the streets for the brown battalions. Clear the street for the Storm Section men." Solomon had all this hate inside him, and he released it. He picked up a wooden stool and he started beating the Germans to death. For this one camp, I found the death certificates for 1,583 Germans.

Death Toll

In other camps and other prisons, thousands of German civilians died. German men, women, children, babies. At one camp there was a barracks for fifty babies. They were in cribs, but the camp doctor, Dr. Cedrowski — he was a Jew who had been in Auschwitz — he didn't heat the barracks, and he didn't give the babies milk. He gave them only some soup, and forty-eight of the fifty babies died.

All in all, sixty to eighty thousand Germans died. Some were killed by Jews, some by Catholics, and many by typhus, dysentery, and starvation, but sixty to eighty thousand died in the custody of the Office of State Security. Now, someone, a German, once told me that this was another holocaust. Well, I'm sure it seemed like a holocaust to the Germans.

But let's not forget: sixty thousand is one percent of the number of Jews who died in the capital-H Holocaust. Jews didn't do what the Germans did. We didn't plot to exterminate the German people. We didn't mobilize all the Jews and the Jewish state. (There was no Jewish state.) We didn't send the Germans systematically to cyanide chambers.

But let's also remember that sixty to eighty thousand civilians is more than the Germans lost at Dresden, and more than, or just as many as, the Japanese lost at Hiroshima, the Americans at Pearl Harbor, the British in the Battle of Britain, or the Jews at Belsen or Buchenwald.

Cover-up

All this was covered up for nearly fifty years. Jews who were involved didn't talk about it. For example, the chief of police in occupied Breslau, Germany, in 1945, who was Jewish, later wrote a book about the Holocaust. And in telling about his time as chief of police in Breslau, all he says is, "We moved westward to Breslau and ... from there ... to Prague." That's it. And Jewish reporters who knew didn't write about it. There's a working reporter right now in New York City who was in Poland right after World War II. He told me, "Whatever, *whatever* the Germans tell you, believe me, it's true." But he himself, he never wrote about it.

The truth was covered up, and was still being covered up. In 1989, I went to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, Israel's central Holocaust center. As you may know, they have fifty million documents there about the Holocaust. I ask them, "Well, what do you have on the Office of State Security?" They have nothing. I ask them, "What do you have on the Jews in the Office of State Security?" Nothing. I say, "Well, there were Jewish commanders, Jewish directors, Jewish ..." The chairman of Yad Vashem responds, "It sounds rather imaginary," and the director of archives says to me, "Imm-possible! Impossible!"

Denial, denial. I know that denial is a very human thing. But historically I don't think it's a Jewish thing. When Abraham, Isaac and Jacob committed sins, we Jews didn't deny it. Yes, Abraham, the father of our people, sinned. God told him to go to Israel, instead he went to Egypt, and we admitted it in the Book of Genesis. Judah (the word "Jew" comes from Judah) made love to a prostitute. We admitted it in Genesis. Moses, even Moses sinned, and God didn't let him into the Promised Land. We admitted that in Deuteronomy. Solomon — good, wise, old King Solomon — did evil. He "worshipped idols." We didn't cover it up. We admitted it in the Book of Kings.

It seems to me that that's the Jewish tradition. How can we say to other people — to Germans, to Serbs, to Hutus — "What you're doing is wrong," if we ourselves do it and cover it up? I wish it were someone else who was here today. Abraham Foxman. Elie Wiesel. I wish he or she would simply say yes, some Jews, *some* Jews, did evil in 1945. But when the Jewish establishment didn't say it, then I had to say it.

I'm a reporter. That's what reporters do. Someone kills sixty thousand people, we report it. If we don't report it, it might become common, or more common, than it already is. But also I'm a Jew, and the Torah says

(Leviticus 5:1), that if someone does evil, and if I know it and *don't* report it, then I am guilty too.

So I start writing this book. The title now won't be *Lola*. It'll be *An Eye for an Eye*. And on the third page I write, "I hope that *An Eye for an Eye* is something more than the story of Jewish revenge: that it's the story of Jewish redemption." I write about Jews taking revenge, yes. But that is one tenth of *An Eye for an Eye*. Mostly I write ...

I write about Zlata, Moshe, Mania, and Pola. They were Jews who refused to look at, much less work at Lola's prison. I write about Ada, who visited the prison once, just once, and then fled to Israel. I write about Shlomo, who was in the Office of State Security and, at the risk of his life, told people in it, "You must stop doing this."

I write about Lola. I write that in Gleiwitz she finally remembered how a Jew should act and, at the risk of her life, she got bread, her own bread from her own home, and smuggled it to the German prisoners. Now this isn't something that Lola told me. No, the prison guards told me. They said that if Lola had been caught, she'd have gone to prison herself.

And I write that at Yom Kippur, 1945, Lola — again at the risk of her life — escaped from Gleiwitz, just as she had escaped some months earlier from Auschwitz, and came to the United States. Almost all the Jews in the Office of State Security escaped, at the risk of their lives, in September, October, and November 1945. And I write that too. They crept through the woods into Germany, or climbed the pass into Italy. They did what the SS never did: they deserted, they *defected*.

Rejection

I was crying while I was writing this. My advance from Henry Holt was \$25,000, and for three years I was writing *An Eye for an Eye*. In September 1991 I finally finished it, wrapped it up, and mailed it to Henry Holt in New York. And I told myself: "Okay. I've done it. That's the end of the cover-up."

No. Because then the people at Henry Holt say, "We don't want it." They don't say it's wrong. They know it's right. They just say, "We don't want to publish it. Keep the twenty-five thousand." Okay. My agent and I send the manuscript to other publishers: to Harper's, to Scribner's — you name it, we sent it — to two dozen other publishers.

And let me tell you. The letters we get from these people, they're practically *blurbs*. The publishers say: "well-written," "extremely well-written," "chilling,"

"compelling," "disturbing," "dismaying," "shocking," "startling," "astonishing," "mesmerizing," "extraordinary," "I was riveted," "I was bowled over," "I love it!" And the publishers all reject it. The letter from St. Martin's Press says, "I am always moved by Holocaust books, but I'd have trouble distinguishing *this* book ... from *other* books ... in this vast area of literature."

Okay. My agent and I agree that if we can't sell a book, we'll try magazines. One of the chapters is on Solomon Morel. Remember? The man who lost his mother, father, all his siblings, uncles, and aunts in the Holocaust. The man who had so much hate for the Germans, he had to disgorge it, who commanded a concentration camp at Swietochlowice, and beat Germans to death.

Solomon is still alive. He's wanted by Interpol for crimes against humanity. Interpol has an international warrant out for his arrest. But he's fled to Israel. He's taking refuge in Tel Aviv, and no one in America — no newspaper, magazine or television network — has ever reported it.

So we send the chapter on Solomon Morel to *Esquire* magazine. I've been a contributing editor there, a war correspondent in Vietnam, Iraq, Bosnia. *Esquire* says, "No." We send it to *GQ* magazine. *GQ* says, "Yes!" The editor says it's the most important story in *GQ*'s history. He even tells that to an editor of *Esquire* at a bar in Greenwich Village. He tells him, "Ha, ha! You don't have it! We do!"

For six weeks *GQ* is fact-checking. They don't find a single error. They send me the galley proofs, the page proofs, and on Wednesday the presses will roll. And then the telephone rings at my home in the Rocky Mountains. The editor of *GQ* says, "John, this isn't a happy phone call. We aren't going to run it." He tells me to keep the \$15,000 and to sell the story somewhere else.

So once again my agent and I are making calls, sending faxes, passing out the *GQ* page proofs. *Harper's* magazine says no. *Rolling Stone* says no and "I'm sure you'll understand." *Mother Jones*, that great exposé magazine ("Extra! Extra! Cigarettes are bad for you!") doesn't even call back. *The New Yorker* (which has published ten pieces by me) refuses even to look at it.

The Attacks Begin

But finally, finally, in March 1993, the story of Solomon Morel is published in the *Village Voice*. And in November, *An Eye for an Eye* is published by Basic Books, a division of HarperCollins. So, thank God,

now it's all over. I can relax now. *Not*.

Because one day later there's a telephone call to Basic Books. It's from the executive director of the World Jewish Congress. He says he wants an immediate retraction, and if he doesn't get it he'll call a major press conference *tomorrow*. He says he'll denounce me, Basic Books, and HarperCollins, and say, "They are *all* anti-Semites." Well, we don't retract, and the World Jewish Congress doesn't denounce. But ...

Then the *reviews* come out. And the reviewers say that *An Eye for an Eye* isn't *true*, that what I wrote there never happened at all.

Please! Much of *An Eye for an Eye* had been fact-checked by *California* magazine, fact-checked by *GQ*, and, for the *Village Voice*, fact-checked by a woman who is the Fact-Checker from Hell. She and I checked every single word, even if we had to call up Poland. And when, after two weeks of this, night and day, we were finally done, the editor of the *Voice* gave an interview saying, "This may be the most accurate story in the history of American journalism."

Much of *An Eye for an Eye* was corroborated by *60 Minutes*, which found eight eyewitnesses I hadn't found. It was corroborated by the *New York Times* and the *International Herald Tribune*. Historians hired by major newspapers in Germany went to the German Federal Archives and wrote, "The facts are true," "The facts are right," "The facts are iron-bound."

But in the United States, one review was entitled "False Witness." Another was headed "The Big Lie, Continued."

The Jewish paper *Forward* said, "Sack is transparently writing docudrama," and told readers that Lola Potok was *not* the commandant of the prison in Gleiwitz. Well, Lola herself had told me, "I was the commandant," and thirty-five other people, including the current commandant, including the current director of prisons, said yes, Lola was the commandant. I have the document that says, "We appoint Citizen Lola Potok Commandant," and I have a document signed by Lola Potok, Commandant. But still the *Forward* said, "The unlikelihood is overwhelming but Sack ... seems ... oblivious." As I read this, I felt I was being lectured by Chico Marx. Remember? "Who you gonna believe? Your own two eyes or me?" I wrote a letter to the *Forward*. Over the last seven years, I've had to write, at last count, about 1,500 letters about *An Eye for an Eye*. And all those letters, added up, are twice as long as the book is.

Maybe you're wondering. What sort of a crazy man am I? Why don't I just say the hell with it? Why do I

carry on?

I'll tell you. There are eighty-five thousand books about the Holocaust. And none of them, if you ask me, has an honest answer to the question, "How could the Germans do it?" How could the *Germans* — the people who gave us Beethoven, the Ninth Symphony, the Ode to Joy, "Alle Menschen werden Brüder, All men will be brothers" — perpetrate the Holocaust?

This mystery, we've got to solve it. We've got to, or we'll keep on having genocides in Cambodia, Bosnia, Zaire. Well, what I report in *An Eye for an Eye* is that Lola has solved it. The Jews from the Office of State Security have solved it. Because in their agony, their despair, their insanity, if you will, they felt they became like the Germans — the Nazis — themselves.

Wages of Hatred

And if I had been there, I'd have become one too, and now I understand why. Lola, like a lot of Jews, understandably, were full of *hate* in 1945. They were volcanoes of red-hot hate. They thought if they joined the Office of State Security, and spit out their hate at the Germans, then they'd be rid of it.

No. It doesn't work that way. Let's say I'm in *love* with someone. I don't tell myself, "Uh, oh. I've got inside of me one, two pounds of love, so if I love her and *love* her, then I'll use all of my love up, and I'll be all out of love." No. We all understand that love is a paradoxical thing, that the more we send out, the more we've got.

So *why* don't we understand that about hate? If we hate, and if we act on that hate, then we hate even more later on. If we spit out a drop of hate, what happens? Well, we stimulate the saliva glands, and we produce a drop and a quarter of it. If we spit that out, we produce a drop and a half, then two drops, three, a teaspoon, tablespoon, a Mount Saint Helens. The more we send out, the more we've got, until we are perpetual-motion machines, sending out hate and hate until we've created a holocaust.

You don't have to be a German to become like that. You can be a Serb, a Hutu, a Jew. You can be an American. We were the ones in the Philippines. We were the ones in Vietnam. We were the ones in Washington, DC, for ten thousand years the home of the Anacostia Indians. They had one of their camp grounds at what now is the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

We *all* have it in us to become like Nazis. Hate, as Lola discovered, hate is a muscle, and if we want to be monsters all we have to do is exercise it. To hate the Germans, to hate the Arabs, to hate the Jews. Hate. The

more we exercise it, the bigger it gets, just as if every day we curl forty pounds, far from being worn out, in time we are curling fifty, sixty pounds. We become the Mr. Universe of Hate. We all can be hate-full people, *hateful* people. We can destroy the people we hate, *maybe*, but we surely destroy ourselves.

That's what the Jews in the Office of State Security have taught us. That's what I tried to write, what I did write, in *An Eye for an Eye*. The very first words are the dedication. I'd like to read them: "For all who died and for all who because of this story might live."

That's what I'd planned to say at the Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Questions from the Audience

Question: I'm very much moved by your presentation. I wish to commend you for your courage. Did you mention that Solomon Morel was also the commander at Jaworzno? At Jaworzno, there were young people, young boys — fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen — Poles, Germans, and Lithuanians — and other ethnics were tortured and murdered there. There is now a group of Jaworzno, and also Swietochlowice, survivors (as they use the term), who are getting together, Poles, Germans, Lithuanians, whoever.

John Sack: Morel was at Jaworzno afterwards. Jaworzno was a camp for Poles. By that time they were putting Poles in the camp, rather than —

Q: There were Germans there also.

JS: There were? Thank you.

Q: What would you recommend on the hate train that we're on here in the United States and the hate laws that are being promulgated?

JS: Well, I don't think that we're on a hate train. I'm writing an article for *Esquire* magazine about the revisionists and in the three conferences that I've been to, and certainly at this conference, I have not seen hate manifested. I don't see people who feel hate. Even people who are called neo-Nazis, like Ernst Zündel, who is not a hate-filled man.

Q: No, I mean in the United States, we're seeing hate laws, thought police, politically correct speech, people are winding up ... as many have here, for that matter ...

JS: Well, of course I'm for free speech, and even if what Fred Töben said was hateful — and it wasn't — and even if what Germar was saying was hateful — and it certainly wasn't — and what Ernst was saying and what Faurisson was saying was hateful — and none of it was — even if it was, it should be allowed, of course, and I'm glad it's allowed in the United States.

Q: What has Lola's reaction been to the book?

JS: Lola actually called me right before the book came out. We had a nice talk. We chatted. I sent her the book. It took her about half a year to read. Her only comment on it was that I had made a mistake, that she was first in Germany and then she came to Paris and there she met her husband and she went back to Germany and got married, and I had it the other way around. That was her only comment. She's now living in Australia and I understand she has Alzheimer's disease.

Q: Would I be correct in assuming that these people should be brought to justice, given a fair trial, and hanged? After all, we're still prosecuting seventy-five-year-old German corporals.

JS: Well, I wish we wouldn't. I think it's too late for anybody to be brought to justice. But I think there should be a trial of Solomon Morel, if for no other reason than to bring out the facts. I would hate to see him go to jail, and as a matter of fact most of his prisoners at Swietochlowice, his former prisoners do not want to see him go to jail, but they want the facts to come out. They would like him just to apologize.

Q: Both the German government and the Polish government are wishy-washy on this. They aren't really seeking to have Solomon Morel extradited from Israel.

JS: That's true. The German government had a prosecution of him going and that just fell by the wayside, disappeared, and the Polish government was very strange. They could have accused him of murder. There were witnesses that saw him commit murder. They just accused him of brutality and other things that expired under the statute of limitations in 1965.

Q: Not only that, but Solomon Morel, living in Israel, is collecting a pension from the Polish government and the "Polish" government is not Polish. The Polish government is a Communist government, and most of them, not all, are Jewish — they call themselves "former Communists." So, the "Polish" government is not Polish, and we heard about what's happening in Germany a little while ago. So, what chance is there of catching this monster and exposing him to the world?

[Voice] Kidnap him like the Israelis did Eichmann.

JS: I suppose that would be one answer. As I understand it Solomon Morel cannot collect his pension unless he's in Poland — that's why he wanted to stay there — I don't know whether that may have changed.

Q: Has Solomon Morel said anything?

JS: Solomon Morel, people keep going up to his door every couple of weeks. Once they camped in front of his door for a couple of days, and his daughter comes to the door and says that he doesn't want to give inter-

views and says that he's writing a book about all of this. That's just what they say. I don't know if it's true.

Q: You say that you believe in the gas chambers. Have you gotten far enough into it that you could produce any evidence that you could present here tonight?

JS: Do I have any evidence here tonight about the existence of gas chambers? No. I accept that people of good faith, honest people, can really look at the evidence and feel that there's not enough evidence that there were gas chambers. I hope that you accept that other people can look at the evidence and conclude that there *is* enough evidence, and that's my conclusion. I don't think that anybody who disagrees is a "neo-Nazi" or an "anti-Semite" or a hate-filled person. I think that you just happen to have a different opinion from me.

Q: Can you talk about your own experience being discriminated against and called an "anti-Semite," and yet you're a Jew. These reviews and articles were obviously libelling you.

JS: On the Charlie Rose show I was called an "anti-Semite" and a "neo-Nazi" by Deborah Lipstadt. [laughter and applause] I called her up after that and reminded her that I'd read her book, and I sent her a nice note about it and told her what I was trying to do in my book, and I said "How could you have said that about me?" She said "You are worse than a 'Holocaust denier,'" and I said "Deborah, I'm worse than a 'Holocaust denier?'" and she said "You are worse than a 'Holocaust denier.'" I said "Could you explain why?" and she said "No. I have a faculty meeting." [laughter] and that's the last I talked to her. It doesn't scare me. It doesn't hurt me. It amuses me.

Q: Are there any Jewish organizations, major Jewish organizations which would permit our principal speakers to speak in front of them?

JS: Not only that, are there any major Jewish organizations that would permit *me* to speak in front of them? [laughter and applause] So far, none, and believe me I've asked. I asked Hillel at UCLA. I certainly asked the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and no, so far, none.

Q: You refer to Nazis as a model for hate. As a German-American I consider the model for hate to be the Jewish Bolshevik regime that killed anywhere from thirty to sixty-six million people. I've just become aware of that by reading Solzhenitsyn's three books and I'm wondering if you have read these books?

JS: I haven't, but you know, when you talk about the Jewish Bolshevik regime be aware that just because, if most of the Bolsheviks, I don't know, were Jews, please be aware that most of the Jews weren't Bolsheviks, and never were.

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Robert Faurisson

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The Unknown Dr. Nyiszli: Auschwitz Witness

Charles Provan

The credibility of Miklos Nyiszli, whose "memoirs" have promoted the Auschwitz myth to millions, bites the dust in this informative lecture. Independent researcher Charles Provan answers questions and dispels myths about the "doctor at Auschwitz" that have gone unchallenged for decades: Nyiszli's German medical schooling; his prewar trip to America; the whoppers on the Auschwitz crematories in Nyiszli's posthumous memoirs; his Doctor at Auschwitz originally classified as fiction; and Nyiszli's postwar membership in Ana Pauker's Romanian Communist Party. 45 min. (#v131) \$19.95

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Germar Rudolf

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Blacklisting My Book, 'An Eye for An Eye'

John Sack

This prolific author and journalist tells the story of his headline-making book in an address he was prevented from giving at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Sack dramatically tells how Polish Jews working in the Communist Office of State Security tortured and murdered innocent German civilians, how he discovered some of these Jews years later, and how a few of them repented of their crimes. Following his lecture, Holocaust true-believer Sack answers tough questions from conference attendees. 58 min. (#v134) \$19.95

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*Glayde Whitney, Greg Raven
& Mark Weber*

A Florida State University psychology professor, and former president of the Behavioral Genetics Association, Whitney relates how his field, psychology, was hijacked from its rightful place among the natural sciences to serve a specious ideology-driven agenda of egalitarianism. Whitney names names — from Franz Boas to Steven Jay Gould — and calls for a return to the methods and values of Charles Darwin and Francis Galton. Then, in a heartfelt closing, IHR director Mark Weber and corporate chief Greg Raven close the Conference with thanks to speakers, attendees, and all IHR supporters. 68 min. (#v135) \$19.95

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My Political Imprisonment in Germany

Fredrick Toben

The chief of Australia's Adelaide Institute discloses the facts of his 1999 arrest in Mannheim, and discusses his seven-months imprisonment for thought crime there. Dr.

Toben, a philosopher by university training, delivers a moving but clear-eyed account of how his intense thirst for knowledge through free inquiry led him to a German jail, and continues to lead him, undaunted, in the search for truth. 62 min. (#v125) \$19.95

The Fate of Unregistered Auschwitz Inmates

Jürgen Graf

Swiss author and researcher Graf examines long-unavailable Auschwitz camp records, from the Moscow archives and elsewhere, to establish the true fates of thousands of Jews at Auschwitz deemed gassed by exterminationists. Graf cites documents showing treatment and release from the Auschwitz hospital of numerous unregistered Hungarian Jews; the presence in Auschwitz of a sizable number of Jewish children, a good number of whom survived the war; and records of many Hungarian Jews, unregistered at Auschwitz, who were sent on to other German camps. Briskly with facts and insight. 55 min. (#v126) \$19.95

My Struggle in Canada

Ernst Zündel

The man who commissioned the Leuchter Report and inspired David Irving's conversion to gas-chamber skepticism talks movingly of his marathon struggle for freedom of expression in his adopted homeland. Zündel relates how the ludicrously named Canadian Human Rights Tribunal has been citing Zündel materials on an Internet website, though owned and operated by Ingrid Rimland in California, as the latest pretext for muzzling him. As Ernst makes clear, the machinations of Canada's spy and police agencies, its media, and its Jewish organizational mafia have anything but dampened the spirits of this one-man truth wave. 66 min. (#v127) \$19.95

A Skeptical Look at 'Schindler's List'

Theodore J. O'Keefe

IHR editor O'Keefe takes a skeptical look at "Schindler's List," to show that — as Schindler's Jewish "survivors" agree — the list was actually the work of the venal Jewish ghetto policeman and concentration camp capo, Marcel Goldberg. Looking beyond the misnamed list, O'Keefe establishes that Schindler's life-saving exertions are a postwar invention; that his activities as an industrialist and employer of "slave labor" were fully in line with official German policy; and that the survival of "his" Jews, at a branch of the concentration camp Gross-Rosen in Moravia at war's end was far from unique. 58 min. (#v128) \$19.95

On the Front Lines

*Robert Countess, Bradley Smith,
& John Bennett*

Three revisionist activists in top form! Retired college professor and minister of the Gospel Bob Countess recounts, with gusto, his revisionist adventures as a journalist and prankster in Scandinavia and his promotional and publishing work with such scholars as Germar Rudolf. Bradley Smith tells of his latest successes on US campuses, where his publications have graduated from being banned to being burned. Longtime Australian activist and civil-liberties attorney John Bennett champions a more diverse, better humored revisionism. 105 min. (#v129) \$19.95

Machinations of the Anti-Defamation League

Pete McCloskey

The former US Congressman tells how his long career in law, politics, academic life, and the Marine Corps led him to mistrust governmental official history and to esteem the mission of the IHR. McCloskey relates what he has learned in his role

New Light on Dr. Miklos Nyiszli and His Auschwitz Book

CHARLES D. PROVAN

IN 1951, PORTIONS OF A MEMOIR attributed to a former inmate of Auschwitz, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, appeared in France. Nyiszli's account caught the eye of another former prisoner of the Germans during the Second World War, Professor Paul Rassinier. He was struck by the exaggerations and absurdities of Nyiszli's story, which allowed the reader to conclude that the Nazis had gassed twenty-nine million people at Auschwitz over four and a half years, and that the gas chamber at Birkenau had been one meter wide. He also made careful note of the discrepancies between subsequent editions in French, German, and English. It was Rassinier who fired the first shots over the historicity of the book. He wrote in 1961: "The versions that have been made public are divergent and contradict one another from one page to the next. The author speaks of places he obviously never visited, etc...." In 1964, Rassinier broadened his critique to the existential, declaring that "[E]ither Dr. Miklos Nyiszli never existed, or if he did exist he never set foot in the places he describes."

Subsequent revisionist writers have had much to say about this unusual book. Wilhelm Stäglich called it "in part, simply absurd." Professor Robert Faurisson has endorsed Rassinier's characterization of Nyiszli's book as a "rascally trick." Dr. William Lindsey called Nyiszli

"legendary." Mark Weber called Nyiszli's claims "fantastic." Ditlieb Felderer wondered: "Seeing so little is correct about Nyiszli and about that which he writes – what then is the real truth about Nyiszli?" Arthur Butz refers to "the writings attributed to one Miklos Nyiszli, which we should not accept on anything, least of all a number."

My Involvement

When I read Henri Roques's excellent "*Confessions of Kurt Gerstein*" about ten years ago, I was already a believer in the revisionist method. After conducting various experiments on gas chamber capacity and diesel emissions, I became convinced that millions of Jews had indeed been gassed during the war, chiefly at the Operation Reinhard camps. This made me simultaneously a revisionist and an exterminationist, or, as Ernst Zündel put it several years ago, a revisionist who believes in the gas chambers. Intrigued by the numerous criticisms of Dr. Nyiszli in the revisionist literature, I decided to undertake a study of his book to determine if it could be substantiated. I got more than I bargained for.

Charles Provan is a printer by trade and a lay theologian by avocation. Ernst Zündel has called him "a revisionist who believes in the gas chambers." Provan is the author of *Some Holes, Some Holocaust*, an analysis of the ruins of the roof of an alleged gas chamber at Auschwitz-Birkenau. This essay is an expanded version of the author's lecture to IHR's 13th conference (May 2000).

In Search of the Historical Nyiszli

The most radical of the revisionist questions struck me as very important: Did Dr. Nyiszli even exist? As I pondered how to answer it, I recalled seeing, in an early edition of *Auschwitz*, a small photo of the title page of Miklos's Nyiszli doctoral dissertation, *Selbstmordarten auf Grund des Sektionsmaterials des Breslauer Gerichtsarztlichen Instituts von Juni 1927–Mai 1930* [Types of Suicide, Based on the Autopsy Material of the Breslau Forensic Medicine Institute from June 1927–May 1930]. This dissertation was written for the Medical Faculty of the Silesian Friedrich Wilhelm University in Breslau, and its author given as "Nicolaus Nyiszli" ("Miklos" being the Hungarian version of "Nicolaus," or Nicholas). Nyiszli refers several times in *Auschwitz* to having attended medical school in Germany. He writes, "I had spent ten years in this country, first as a student, later as a doctor ..." (p. 23) and "Suddenly I recalled another scene; fifteen years before, the Rector of the Medical School of Frederick Wilhelm University in Breslau shook my hand and wished me a brilliant future as he handed me my diploma, 'with the congratulations of the jury'" (p. 27). (All citations from the English-language version of *Auschwitz* in this article are taken from the 1997 edition, published by Arcade [New York], and distributed by Little, Brown.) Nyiszli's recollections seemed to jibe with his purported dissertation, so I decided to search for a copy. My earlier research had acquainted me with the *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints*, which enumerates libraries which hold the listed books. I checked the catalog, and there it was: a single copy of Nyiszli's dissertation, at Yale's Whitney Medical Library. I requested an inter-library loan, and waited, and waited some more. A second request earned me only more waiting. Finally, I called the library myself.

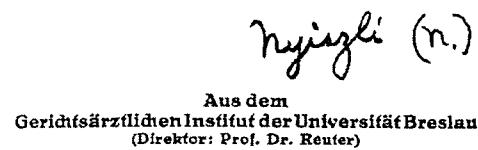
This frustrated, and frustrating, phone call unlocked the Nyiszli case for me. After being transferred from extension to extension, I finally spoke with a librarian who told me that Yale definitely had the publication: he had seen it. But, he told me, the section of the library where it was shelved was being rearranged, and the books were still out of order, making the Nyiszli dissertation unavailable. In my disappointment, I informed the librarian that I had hoped to examine the document to establish that Dr. Miklos Nyiszli had actually existed. At this the librarian exclaimed, "Of course he existed! Two of my friends knew him personally, and I remember reading his account of Auschwitz in a Budapest newspaper when I lived in Budapest shortly

after the war." I was floored: even though Yale couldn't locate its copy of Dr. Nyiszli's doctoral dissertation, all of a sudden I had several new lines of attack.

The librarian went on to suggest that perhaps a copy of the dissertation had been received by the National Library of Medicine in Bethesda, Maryland. I called them, and he was right: there was a copy of *Selbstmordarten* in their History of Medicine Division. I obtained a photocopy, and had it translated.

Nyiszli's 1930 Medical Dissertation

Nyiszli's dissertation is a study and statistical analysis of suicide victims in the Breslau area over a three year period. Published in 1930, it classifies and analyzes each autopsied victim according to sex, method of suicide, and medical conditions and personal circumstances which might have inclined the victim to take his or her own life.



Aus dem
Gerichtsarztlichen Institut der Universität Breslau
(Direktor: Prof. Dr. Reuter)

Selbstmordarten auf Grund des Sektionsmaterials des Breslauer Gerichtsarztlichen Instituts

von Juni 1927 — Mai 1930

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde in der Medizin und
Chirurgie der Hohen Medizinischen Fakultät der
Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Breslau

vergelegt von

Nicolaus Nyiszli

Breslau 1930
Druckerei Emil Wurst, Breslau 1, Schmiedehütte 33

INdexED

The title page of Nyiszli's medical dissertation. Pictured in early editions of *Auschwitz*, it proved to be authentic.

The dissertation contains references which connect with those in *Auschwitz*. Nyiszli writes, "In conclusion, I should like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Professor Dr. Reuter and Professor Dr. Strassmann for the support and stimulation they provided for my work." A Dr. Strasseman [sic] is mentioned in *Auschwitz*: "No one present knew that I had spent three years at the Boroslo [sic] Institute of Forensic Medicine, where I had had a chance to study every possible form of suicide under the supervision of Professor Strasseman" (p. 35).

The final page of the dissertation supplies some biographical particulars about the author:

I, Nicolaus Nyiszli, was born on June 17, 1901 in Simleul-Silvaniei (Transylvania). I attended elementary school for four years and the Humanistic Roman Catholic Episcopal Higher Gymnasium in Simleul-Silvaniei (Transylvania). In autumn 1920 I passed the Abitur [final examination].

First I studied medicine for two semesters in Klausenburg (Romania); then for three semesters in Kiel; from 1925 to 1927 I did not continue my studies because of the bad economic situation. In the summer semester of 1927 I was able to resume my studies and studied medicine in Breslau. At the end of the summer semester of 1927 I passed the preliminary examination for the medical degree, and in the middle of April 1930 I passed the state medical examination, both examinations at the Silesian Friedrich Wilhelm University in Breslau. I am a Romanian citizen.

Two Postwar Acquaintances of Dr. Nyiszli

With the help of the librarian at Yale, I was able to contact the two men who had known Dr. Nyiszli after the war. One of them had been a friend of Dr. Nyiszli, and recalled once visiting Nyiszli and finding him at work on his *Auschwitz* book. This surprised me, because at that time I was proceeding under the hypothesis that Nyiszli's book had in fact been written by someone else.

This, I thought, might explain such gross errors the "four elevators" at Birkenau crematorium 1. According to *Auschwitz*:

...they dragged the slippery bodies to the elevators in the next room. Four good-sized elevators were functioning. They loaded twenty to twenty-five corpses to an elevator. The ring of a

bell was the signal that the load was ready to ascend. The elevator stopped at the crematorium's incineration room ... (p. 53).

As most readers doubtless know, the crematorium Nyiszli is describing has only one elevator, as is apparent from the blueprints and the present-day ruins, which I have visited myself. Taking my cue from errors in several manuscripts of the Old Testament transcribed from dictation, I supposed that the most reasonable explanation for Nyiszli's writing "four large elevators," when there was only one, was as follows. In Hungarian, I had learned, Nyiszli's text has "Négy nagy teherfelvonogep." "Négy" means "four." "Nagy" means "large." Now, if Nyiszli had actually lived in crematorium 1 at Birkenau, as he claims, he would have to have known that there was only one elevator. To explain the mistake in *Auschwitz*, I supposed that as Nyiszli spoke of a "large, large" elevator, his transcriber wrote the similar sounding (in Hungarian), but mistaken, "four large" elevators" (Hungarian: "Nagy nagy teherfelvonogep").

Now, however, a personal friend of Nyiszli's had told me he had seen Nyiszli writing his *Auschwitz* book. Nyiszli himself, then, had to have been responsible for its errors. Could the integrity of Nyiszli's *Auschwitz* still be upheld?

My interviews of the two acquaintances of Dr. Nyiszli, both of whom were Jewish, gained me interesting information about Nyiszli's relations with the Jewish community after the war. His personal friend told me that everyone took notice when Nyiszli's daughter (who, like his wife, had survived *Auschwitz*) married a gentile after the war. The other acquaintance confirmed this, though the two disagreed on the nationality of Nyiszli's gentile son-in-law. One said he was a Russian officer; the other, a Romanian officer.

The man who was merely acquainted with Nyiszli informed me that he had met him at a state hospital, where Dr. Nyiszli was on the staff. Dr. Nyiszli had given him an injection for an illness. This man disagreed with Nyiszli's friend on an important issue. He told me that many people, Jews and others, disapproved of Nyiszli's relations with the Nazis at *Auschwitz*, and viewed Nyiszli in a very negative light; my informant concurred.

Dr. Nyiszli's Visit to America in 1939

On page 61 of my marked-up edition of *Auschwitz*, I had noticed this intriguing annotation:

Dr. Nyiszli came to the United States in the summer of 1939, and remained until February

of 1940, as a member of the Rumanian delegation to the World's Fair. — Tr[anslator].

To investigate this statement, I first consulted literature on the famous World's Fair of 1939–40, which was held in New York, and learned that the records of the fair are held by a division of the New York Public Library System. I contacted that department, and although they were able to locate and examine the records of the Romanian delegation to the fair, they could find no mention of Dr. Nyiszli.

Another avenue of investigation proved more successful. In Joseph J. Culligan's book *You, Too, Can Find Anybody*, I discovered that the National Archives contained records of arrivals by foreigners at many ports in the United States for much of the twentieth century. I cajoled a good friend into traveling to the Archives in Washington, D.C. Using the time-consuming but valuable Soundex coding system, which transforms a name into a numeric code that indicates how it sounds, rather than how it is spelled, my energetic associate was at last able to locate Dr. Nyiszli on the passenger manifest of a ship called *Nea Hellas*, which had sailed from Piraeus in Greece and arrived in New York City on December 1, 1939.

The exact citation was found in National Archives Passenger Lists, Roll 6427, Volumes 13,836–13,837, New York Passenger List Number 15, and lists the following information for Dr. Nyiszli:

Family Name: Nyiszli

Given Name: Nicolae

Age in Years: 38

Sex: Male

Married or Single: Married

Calling or Occupation: M. Doctor

Nationality: Rumania

Race or people: Hebrew [a handwritten correction to the typed "Rumanian"]

Place of birth: Simleul, Rumania

Notice that Nyiszli's age in this document tallies with the date of birth given in the short life history at the end of his doctoral dissertation, June 17, 1901. He would have been thirty-eight when he received his passport in August 1939, and when he arrived in New York City in December 1939. The passenger list partially confirmed the translator's footnote in *Auschwitz*, and provided further evidence that Miklos Nyiszli was a real person.

Nyiszli's Deposition in 1945

Leafing through Robert Jay Lifton's *The Nazi Doc-*

tors one day, I noticed that Dr. Nyiszli was frequently mentioned, and bought the book on the spot. Especially interesting was the citation of a deposition of Dr. Nyiszli, dated July 28, 1945, hitherto unknown to me. I contacted Dr. Lifton through his staff in New York, and learned that his researchers had discovered the document in Hungary. Dr. Lifton's staff graciously provided me with a copy of an English translation of the deposition. This testimony, unmentioned in the Auschwitz literature before Dr. Lifton's discovery, is entitled, "Deposition: Miklof Nyifcli [sic] A Physician from Nagyvarod in Hungary," and dated July 28, 1945.

There are several unmistakable parallels between this document and Dr. Nyiszli's later book, but noticeable differences too. Among the parallels were his selection to perform autopsies by Dr. Mengele, his residence in crematorium 1, and his unusual assertion that the victims of the gas chamber at crematorium 1 were executed with chlorine granules. "The gauuales [sic] fell down and through contact with the air, a chlorine gas was produced which within five to ten minutes caused death through agonizing suffocation." This last point is of great interest, because in the earlier editions of Nyiszli's book the death of the Jews was accomplished by poisoning by chlorine gas. The original 1947 Hungarian edition states: "On one of the boxes they press in the top of a snap and they spill its contents – bean-sized, lilac-colored granular material – into the opening. The spilled material is cyclone or the granular form of chlorine; it immediately becomes gas upon contact with air." The French Julliard edition of 1961 says the same, but in the corresponding passage in my 1997 edition the equation of "cyclone" (Zyklon) and chlorine gas is eliminated. A translator's footnote, however, states:

In reply to a query concerning the origin and composition of cyclon gas, Dr. Nyiszli wrote that it was manufactured during the war by the IG Farben Co., and that, although it was classified as Geheimmittel, that is, confidential or secret, he was able to ascertain that the name 'cyclon' came from the abbreviation of its essential elements: cyanide, chlorine and nitrogen. During the Nuremberg trials the Farben Co. claimed that it had been manufactured only as a disinfectant. However, as Dr. Nyiszli pointed out in his testimony, there were two types of cyclon in existence, type A and type B. They came in identical containers; only the marking A and B differentiated them. Type A was a disinfectant; type B was used to exterminate millions. — Tr. (p. 111)

Though I can understand how Dr. Nyiszli might make an “educated guess” in discussing Zyklon B, it is rather amazing that such material could still be printed about the Holocaust (or, as I prefer, “Judenausrottung”) in 1997. In fact, Zyklon A had been discontinued years before the Second World War; Zyklon B was not a secret, nor did it emit chlorine gas; and Gerhard Peters, the agent for the manufacturer, DEGESCH, insisted that he and his company had had no idea that Zyklon B was being used to murder Jews. (Given Hitler’s decree on euthanasia, as well as his “humane” comment in his last will, Zyklon B would have been most inappropriate, although I believe that it was in fact used at Auschwitz, through great ignorance of its effects.)

The differences between Nyiszli’s deposition of 1945 and his subsequent book are marked, and in some cases irreconcilable. For example, Nyiszli states in his deposition that he arrived at Auschwitz on May 22, 1944, stayed one day, and then was transferred to a labor detail in the sub-camp Monowitz. After about two weeks (thus in June 1944), all doctors with experience in pathology were asked to report to the authorities. Nyiszli and one other doctor (evidently a Hungarian who had worked at Strasbourg University) did so, and were taken to crematorium 1 at Birkenau. After several hours Dr. Mengele appeared, and examined the two doctors. In *Auschwitz*, Nyiszli never goes to Monowitz; is recruited as a pathologist by Dr. Mengele in May, not June, 1944; and his fellow pathologist has disappeared!

In his deposition, Nyiszli describes his and the other pathologist’s duties as including taking the measurements of abnormal people, who were then shot by a German officer working for Mengele. The two doctors would then autopsy the victims, after which they would dissolve the bodies and ship the bones to a renowned anthropological institute in Berlin-Dahlem. On one night, according to Nyiszli, Mengele ordered the two pathologists to assist him with a group of fourteen Gypsy twins. Nyiszli, ordered by Mengele, undressed a fourteen-year-old girl, and placed her on the dissection table, whereupon Mengele gave her a shot to cause sleep, then killed her with a chloroform injection. She was then removed to another location. The remaining thirteen twins were one by one treated in the same manner. When all fourteen twins were dead, Mengele asked Nyiszli and his colleague how fast they could do the autopsies. They told him four a day, to which Mengele agreed. Interestingly, and disconcertingly, this story is omitted from *Auschwitz*. Dr. Lifton and I believe that it was left out due to Nyiszli’s admitted

involvement in the murders. In the absence of the threat of his own death, Nyiszli could be considered an accomplice.

Another oddity is this description of cleaning out the crematorium gas chamber: “The special command rinsed off the corpses with a water hose and then began the transport of the corpses in an elevator up to the boiler room.” Note that here Nyiszli correctly lists crematorium 1 as having one elevator, not four, as in his book.

At the end of his 1945 deposition, Nyiszli mentioned that all personnel of the Sonderkommando were killed on November 17, 1944 — except for the doctors who worked for Mengele, and their assistants. They were ordered away from the machine guns by Dr. Mengele himself: he needed their further help for his racial biology work. In *Auschwitz*, however, Dr. Mengele saves Nyiszli and the others on the date of the Auschwitz camp revolt a month earlier, which goes unmentioned in his deposition.

Several Wartime Witnesses to Dr. Nyiszli at Auschwitz

Filip Müller, a member of the Sonderkommando at Birkenau, has stated several times outside of his well-known book that he knew Dr. Nyiszli at Auschwitz. In correspondence with John Bennett in 1980, he wrote, “Your justified questions demonstrate that you are very familiar with the concentration camp literature which unfortunately does not always present correct testimonies. Many legends have been written about this tragic truth and a few falsehoods have crept into the writing of Dr. Nyiszli.” Further: “I got to know Dr. Nyszli [sic] very well in early summer 1944. He had to work in the Sonderkommando with his colleagues, Prof. Görög and others, as a pathologist for Dr. Mengele. He was an outstanding and optimistic man … I never saw Dr. Nyiszli again after the war. He is supposed to have died in 1949-1950.” Thus, according to Müller, Nyiszli was a pathologist for Mengele at Birkenau, but his book contained at least a few falsehoods. Müller also testified about Dr. Nyiszli during the 1964 Frankfurt “Auschwitz Trial.” In Hermann Langbein’s account of the trial, Müller stated:

When in the year 1944 the Hungarian transports came, two Hungarian pathologists were brought into the crematory, where they stood available to Dr. Mengele. One was named Dr. Nyiszli. I saw once that Dr. Nyiszli had to put the corpse of a hunchbacked person into a container in which there were salts or acids in order

to get the skeleton of this person. I also saw how the flesh was cut away from the thighs of those who had been shot dead.

Notice that Müller mentions Nyiszli dissolving a corpse to obtain a skeleton (also in *Auschwitz*), and the cutting of flesh from corpses (mentioned only in the original Hungarian version of Nyiszli's book). He also states that two Hungarian pathologists worked for Mengele.

Further confirmation of Nyiszli's presence at Auschwitz was supplied by a very helpful associate of Dr. Lifton, who sent me two testimonies about Dr. Mengele that mentioned Nyiszli. Milton Buki from Poland had this to say: "The suspect [Mengele] also went several times into that room where the prisoner's [*sic*] doctors were busy with the dissection of the dead bodies. From the prisoner's [*sic*] doctors, of which we had several ones, I only knew Dr. Niczly [*sic*] by name. He was an imposing presence, a bit fat ..." The description "a bit fat" is certainly unusual for an inmate at Auschwitz-Birkenau, and might indicate Nyiszli's favor with Dr. Mengele.

From Lifton's files as well came the following statement by Mrs. Jozsef Szabo, a Hungarian deported to Auschwitz:

... in September 1944, in the block of the twins, an approximately thirty-year-old woman who came from Szombathely died of disease. Her dates are not known to me. The corpse of this woman, fully unclothed, four of us carried on a board to the crematorium. I do not remember which number the crematorium had, I can only remember that the way thither led through a wooded terrain. We knocked on the iron door of the crematorium, whereupon several persons in white coats opened [it] to us. Over to these we gave the dead [woman] on whose breast a large 'Z' was drawn. Then a [female] companion, who was helping with the carrying of the corpse, commented [that] she had recognized Dr. Nyiszli Miklos [*sic*], a deported physician, as she said, she knew Nyiszli still from Nagyvara [*sic*].

Frau Szabo's description of the crematorium to which the body was delivered as near wooded terrain agrees in part with Nyiszli's book, which states that in late 1944 he was transferred to Birkenau crematorium 4, which was in a wooded area. I learned of other reports (some unfavorable) of Dr. Nyiszli assisting Dr. Mengele at Birkenau, but since they appear in psychiatric interviews, they are at present closed to the public.

First Appearance of Nyiszli's Auschwitz Book

Following up on the Yale librarian's recollection of reading Nyiszli's book in the pages of the Budapest newspaper *Világ* ("World"), I corresponded with two Hungarians with library connections. They kindly assisted me in locating, then copying the entire book from back issues of *Világ*. Here at last was the long-sought original edition of Nyiszli's book! In the newspaper version, which ran serially from February 16, 1947, through April 5, 1947, Nyiszli's book consisted of forty-one chapters and an epilogue. Its title was: "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor in Auschwitz: A Hungarian Doctor's Diary from Hell."

In the days before Nyiszli's book appeared for the first time, in the pages of *Világ*, the newspaper ran three ads to publicize the book. English translations of those ads follow:

Világ, February 14, 1947

Chief physician Dr. Mengele directed 660 thousand people "to the left" ...

Gondor Ferenc's paper, the *Ember* ["Man"], published an interesting open letter from Budapest titled "This Is How Chief Physician Mengele Killed Aggie Zsolt's little girl." The author of the letter, Aggie Zsolt, has written down with moving words, how her thirteen-year-old little daughter was taken away on October 18, 1944, "by the notorious yellow car of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp."

Chief physician Dr. Mengele's "pleasantly ingratiating voice" resounded again this day, and one of the crudest mass murderers in world history again separated out the "ladies," as he liked to call, sarcastically, his victims before death by gassing. Whomever Mengele's fluted voice directed to the left was gassed to death that day, and altogether the German chief physician of Auschwitz directed 660,000 victims "to the left."

Dr. Miklos Nyiszli of Nagyvarad is the only surviving direct eyewitness to the mass murders in Auschwitz. The doctor kept a diary, titled "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor in Auschwitz," on the infernal events in the Nazi hell.

Starting February 16, these world-important documents [*sic*] will be published serially in *Világ*.

Vilag, February 14, 1947

I was Mengele's autopsy doctor in Auschwitz. Not a novel! [Hungarian: "Nem regény!"] A Hungarian doctor's diary from the Nazi hell.

The only Hungarian eyewitness to the Nazis' mass murders in Auschwitz, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, medical doctor, has described with cold objectivity how the Nazi butchers killed two million innocent people — Christians, Jews, Hungarians, Russians, Poles, Czechs — in Auschwitz. The types of death: gas, injection, shooting in the back of the head, the bonfire, flame thrower. Every four months they killed the auxiliary personnel, so there would be no eyewitnesses. The story of the only revolt in Auschwitz.

Starting February 15 [*sic*], this world-important document will be published serially in *Vilag*.

Vilag, February 15, 1947

What did the only surviving eyewitness of the mass murders in Auschwitz record in his diary?

Vilag begins publication tomorrow of the memoirs of Mengele's autopsy doctor.

Tomorrow, Saturday, *Vilag* will begin serialization the diary of Dr. Miklos Nyiszli of Nagyvarad, titled, "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor in Auschwitz." Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, the only surviving direct witness of the mass murderers, did not write a novel [Hungarian: "nem regényt"], but endeavored to record his hellish experiences factually.

He makes the following statement in the introduction of his diary:

"The undersigned Dr. Miklos Nyiszli was a doctor — bearing the tattooed number A.8450. As a concentration camp prisoner, [I] wrote the work that appears under my authorship, which contains the darkest pages of the history of humankind, free from all emotion, in accord with reality, avoiding the smallest exaggeration and embellishment, as a direct observer of the work of the crematoriums and bonfires of Auschwitz, in which millions of fathers, mothers, and children were consumed. As the doctor of the crematoriums of Auschwitz, I wrote innumerable autopsy and medical reports and signed them with my tattoo number. These were countersigned by Dr. Mengele, and then mailed to one of the world's most distinguished

medical forums, the Berlin-Dahlem Institut für Rassenbiologische und Anthropologische Forschungen. In writing this, I am not striving for literary success. I was not a writer, I was a doctor, when I experienced horrors beyond imagination, and now they have been recorded, not with a reporter's pen, but with a doctor's."

It will be observed that the newspaper made some rather extravagant claims in advertising Nyiszli's book. According to *Vilag*, Nyiszli was the only surviving witness (one ad says "Hungarian witness") to the Nazi mass murder at Auschwitz, and the newspaper was publishing the diary he had kept in the Birkenau crematorium.

The first published version of Nyiszli's book is important for determining the truth concerning various points which revisionists have attacked over the years. We shall now list several of these.

Nyiszli's Auschwitz Errors

On February 23, 1947, *Vilag* published the seventh installment, titled "20,000 Murders Daily," which included this passage:

The corpses turn to ash in 20 minutes. The crematorium has 15 ovens. This means the burning of 5,000 people per day. Four crematoria operate at that same capacity. A total of 20,000 people a day pass through the gas chambers and from there to the incineration ovens. The souls of 20,000 innocent people depart, up the gigantic chimneys. Nothing more remains of them here than a heap of ash in the courtyard of the crematorium, whence trucks take it to the flowing Vistula about 2 kilometers from here."

Among the notable mistakes in this passage is the claim that Birkenau's four crematoria each had fifteen ovens. In fact, crematoria 1 and 2 had fifteen each, but crematoria 3 and 4 had eight ovens.

According to *Auschwitz*, in the summer of 1944 Nyiszli learned that the Birkenau had been constructed in bad winter weather by ten thousand prisoners, and had been in operation killing people for four years. The *Vilag* edition concurs: four years in operation. Yet, at the rate per day stated in the *Vilag* excerpt above, the victims of the gas chambers and the crematoria would add up to about twenty-nine million, not counting crematorium victims after summer, 1944, or victims killed in other ways. Nyiszli's claim that the crematoria were operating in 1940 is belied by the Auschwitz records,

which show that they were completed in 1943.

"Later I learned that the Auschwitz KZ had, at certain periods, held more than 100,000 people within its enclosure of electrified barbed wire." Thus reads the English version of Nyiszli. In the French edition, however, Nyiszli claims that the camp had sometimes held over 500,000 inmates, a gross exaggeration of the actual maximum figure. But it is the French version that is faithful to the Hungarian original, wherein Nyiszli specified 500,000.

The English and the French versions state that there were four large elevators to haul the murdered victims up to the cremation ovens on the ground floor of Birkenau crematorium 1. My hypothesis that this was a transcriber's error for the single elevator indicated by the building's blueprints and ruins had been shaken by my discovery, from Dr. Nyiszli's friend, that Nyiszli had written the book himself. Now I learned that the original Hungarian edition translates: "This is how they pull the bodies, made slippery from water, to the elevators in the neighboring place. Four large freight elevators are working here. They put the dead on these, twenty, twenty-five to an elevator." Worse, in a later installment in the original *Világ* version, Nyiszli again refers to "elevators." Worse still, in a passage that appears only in the newspaper edition, there is reference to the "elevators" being "giant" (a different Hungarian word than that for "large") in size, another blow to my theory of a transcription error in the original Hungarian.

This room is as big as the dressing room ["about 200 meters long"], just that the benches and hangers are missing. In the middle of the room, placed about 30 meters apart from one another, columns stretch from the cement floor to the ceiling. Not supporting columns, but square iron-tin pipes, their sides everywhere full of holes like a screen. The sub-officer holds four green-colored tin boxes in his hands. They step on the grass, where thirty meters apart from one another low cement chimneys are sticking out of the ground.

While this description is self-contradictory, and also contradicts the blueprints and the ruins of crematorium 1, the author's length for the gas chamber there is clear from the reference to the size of the dressing room: "about 200 meters long." In reality, this exaggerates the actual length of the room in question by nearly seven-fold: the actual room is 30 meters long.

'Comrade Doctor'

After the last installment of Dr. Nyiszli's book appeared, for several days *Világ* ran letters to the editor on the serial, some of them quite critical. Nyiszli himself wrote responses to two critics (one of whom was a writer well known in Hungary) who had attacked him for his conduct during and after the war. Nyiszli's replies were published as separate letters in *Világ* on April 10, 1947. In the first, Nyiszli wrote that his accuser was "in this matter truly a lay person," uncomprehending of the amazing reality of Auschwitz, "the hell of hells." "In this gigantic death factory which pushes every apocalyptic imagining into the background, Dr. Mengele was the satanic factory boss ... I do not feel guilty ... I also do not feel guilty that after I made my way home and the memories of my traumatic experiences calmed, I dared to write my diary and objectively present the public with truthful documents on the secrets, heretofore unknown, of the death factory in Auschwitz. I did not seek or chase after sensations, much less material advantage."

The second letter Nyiszli responded to was more vindictive. It reads in part, "This Nyiszli, who through long [newspaper] columns sorts knocked out teeth, smoking crematoriums, corpses shot to death, invoking his instinct for self-preservation, did everything possible to earn the Germans' satisfaction. Now he saddles fortune and reaps the laurels, as probably the only Jew who profited from Mengele." Nyiszli responded to this attack in a long letter, stating that the author (who had served in the German-allied Hungarian army as a corporal) should have been ashamed to have served under Admiral Horthy (Hungary's wartime leader). Nyiszli claimed to have saved many lives at Auschwitz. Then, flexing his muscles, Nyiszli blustered: "... 'this Nyiszli,' coming from a corporal. Would it be too much to call me 'Doctor'? In the Communist Party, of which I am a member, they call me 'Comrade Doctor,' and that's the way it should be."

The next mention of Nyiszli in *Világ*, so far as I have been able to ascertain, came on September 30, 1947, when an article reported on his summons to Nuremberg for the trial of IG Farben (case number six before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal). I regard this article as critical to understanding the true nature of Dr. Nyiszli's book on Auschwitz: it provides a solution which makes sense of all the incorrect information contained therein, and allows Nyiszli's other statements to be examined and assessed independently of his book.

Mengele's Autopsy Doctor, Doctor Nyiszli, as

Crown Witness in Nuremberg

Following its serial publication by *Világ*, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli's Auschwitz diary has gone all over the world. The extremely interesting novel [again, "regény" in Hungarian] of experience entitled, "I Was Mengele's Autopsy Doctor" has been one of the most enduring documents of the German horror.

Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, of Nagyvarad, has now received an interesting invitation from the supreme court for war criminals, or rather, the Allied tribunal headquartered in Nuremberg. Russian delegate E. E. Minskoff signed the letter summoning Miklos Nyiszli before the highest tribunal. The expansive communication lists in several points the questions which the Nuremberg tribunal will put to Miklos Nyiszli, the most competent prosecution witness. The first question is: Are you aware of the inhumane methods of treatment employed in the IG Farben concentration camp?

As is known, 40,000 prisoners worked in the so-called "Monowitz" camp for the Germans. Most of them were brought from the eastern territories. English pilots and other Allied soldiers were prisoners in this camp. Doctor Nyiszli was an inmate of this terrible camp for two weeks ...

... Dr. Nyiszli arrived in Budapest and will spend a day here in transit. We spoke with the author of the famous book, who said the following: "I strove to gather all the data so that I can be at the disposal of the Supreme Tribunal [*sic*] in Nuremberg in this horrible trial of humanity.

Unfortunately, I cannot furnish written evidence, for I myself escaped from the Auschwitz camp with just the clothes on my body. But I am taking all my notes with me, and of course some copies of my book. I will travel to Nuremberg by plane, and I will stay for 2-3 weeks.

Several details of this newspaper article can be confirmed from other sources. Visiting the National Archives, I learned that among their records of the Nuremberg trials are two card catalogs containing information about witnesses in the war crimes trials. Dr. Nyiszli is listed in both of them. His cards list him as "Dr. Nicolae Nyiszli, born June 17, 1901 in Simleul-Silvaniei, requested as a voluntary witness by Minskoff." I also came across an affidavit (Nuremberg document NI-11710), dated October 8, 1947, by accident, while examining an alphabetical listing of various witnesses from the Nuremberg trials, where the affidavit was misfiled under the last name "Nicolae." This was for me a wonderful find, although I later learned that the outstanding researcher Carlo Mattogno, the premier revisionist writer on Nyiszli, had already discovered it.

NI-11710 has much in common with Nyiszli's 1945 deposition. It mentions his arrival at Auschwitz; his transfer to Monowitz, and his work there on a labor crew; and his subsequent transfer (along with an unnamed pathologist) to Birkenau, where he began work as a crematorium pathologist for Dr. Mengele. What is different about the affidavit is its partial emphasis upon the Monowitz sub-camp. It also has a rather subdued section on how gassings were conducted at the Birkenau crematorium, with nothing about the four giant elevators to a crematorium or the 200-meter-long gas chambers which appear in his book.

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

NYISZLI, Nicolae Dr. V.W."E"

Loc: Oradea

Str. Vlahuta 44.

Romania

Birth: 17.6.1901 in Simleul-Silvaniei

Oct.47 Req.for Trans.

3 Oct.47 Arrived

Sprecher (Minskoff)

A copy of Nyiszli's witness card for the IG Farben trial. His testimony was based on his professed experiences at the Auschwitz sub-camp Monowitz, which he omitted entirely from his *Auschwitz*.

Although Dr. Nyiszli was summoned to Nuremberg to testify in the IG Farben trial, he was not called to the stand, presumably because he was only at Monowitz for about two weeks, and could provide little in the way of useful evidence. At some point in the trial, he was allowed to return home to Romania.

An Interview with Dr. Nyiszli's Granddaughter

Information about Nyiszli's subsequent life were graciously provided to me by his granddaughter Monica, whom I was able to locate though the kind help of the Romanian government and a Jewish organization there. Dr. Nyiszli and his wife Margareta had one daughter, Susanna, born in 1929, while Dr. Nyiszli was attending medical school in Breslau. Susanna had indeed married a gentile, a Romanian cavalry officer, in 1952, and their daughter (and Nyiszli's granddaughter) Monica was born in 1955. Miklos Nyiszli passed away on May 5, 1956; his daughter Susanna passed away in 1983. Before his death, the Romanian secret police placed Nyiszli under investigation for "cosmopolitanism," perhaps in part because of his correspondence with people in the West. About fifteen years after Nyiszli's death, when Monica was around sixteen, the secret police confiscated some of his papers, including a map he had drawn of Birkenau. It was not returned.

Conclusions about Nyiszli's Book and His Other Writings

When I read in the September 30, 1947, *Világ* article that Miklos Nyiszli's book on his experiences at Auschwitz was a novel, it was as if a blindfold had fallen from my eyes. I had never considered this possibility before, but it certainly made sense on reading the article. It not only explained the inflated figures, the factual errors, and the singular account of the Sonderkommandos (thirteen in all!); it also removed all difficulties of "explaining away the details." *Auschwitz* is a novel. If a character in a novel meets a real personage, there is no historical issue to resolve. Dr. Nyiszli's 1945 deposition and his 1947 affidavit disagree with the book on many details because they are recording what he actually thought was the truth, while the book was deliberately crafted as a historical novel.

Within a few years of *Világ*'s admission that the book was a novel, it was translated into French and German, and English, and wrongly declared to be an authentic history. This untruth aroused a storm of criticism, starting with the founder of Holocaust revisionism, Paul Rassinier, who himself had been a prisoner of

the German concentration camp system for helping Jews under Nazi domination. While Rassinier's questions were justifiable on many points, they are moot, because Dr. Nyiszli's published treatment of Auschwitz was knowingly written as historical fiction, which accounts for its disconcerting mixture of truth and non-truth.

Thus the revisionists, although sometimes off course, were correct all along in concluding that there were serious problems with *Auschwitz*. For example Carlo Mattogno's critique, *Medico ad Auschwitz: Anatomia di un falso*, is a wonderful treatment, exhaustive and extremely thorough. Meanwhile, the defenders, translators, and publishers of the Nyiszli book have dealt with the revisionists' criticisms with silence, or by deliberately changing sections of Nyiszli's novel without advertising that. What is needed now is an annotated edition of the original book, along with a complete collection of Dr. Nyiszli's writings and testimony on Auschwitz, to clear the air on this long-standing problem.

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend my thanks to the many people who were of great assistance to me in my extended search for information about Dr. Nyiszli and his writings. Included among those who deserve my great thanks are: Steve Chaitow, Robert Jay Lifton, Dr. John Drickamer, Rev. Daniel Borsay, Amy Hackett, Lucy Silva, Frank Gyorgyey, Arpad Benedek, Stephen Reich, Eda Pal, Jozsef Tudomanyegyetem, and Gazella Barna. Without their help, I would have achieved little. Special thanks to Monica, Dr. Nyiszli's granddaughter, to whom I wish the best.

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 21 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

Waging and Winning the Information War

ERNST ZÜNDEL

IT'S A REAL PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE HERE. I always love to come to an IHR conference, because it lets you put faces with names. For instance, this morning I met a lovely black lady, young, pretty. I soon found out that I've been talking to this woman for four or five years on the telephone. Only when she spoke to me did I realize, "Ah! This is my telephone partner, Anita!" So it's nice to put faces with names. It's one thing to go over thousands of names in your office, but then to come here and read people's badges and think, "Imagine that! This white-haired man, that white-haired lady has been helping me with my court fights for two decades, and I'm meeting them face to face for the first time." There is something very human, very touching about this, and I think that's what has sustained me, the knowledge that we have loyal friends and comrades that year in, year out, tolerate your peccadillos.

UFOs to the Rescue

Professor Butz has always been a little leery of me, because in my distant past I published books on UFOs. What kind of a revisionist is that? And yet, whenever we needed help from Professor Butz — good advice, sound advice — he was always there. He forgave me that I was a little weird when it came to those books. But

the Jewish side of the equation hasn't forgiven me for my UFO books: there are two or three UFO sites on the Internet with fake Zündel names, spelled Z-u-n-d-l, that advertise my old UFO books to embarrass me. Well, I'm still getting orders for these books — from Iran, from Johannesburg, from Brazil — at 1972 prices, naturally. I simply photocopy the original German or English edition, which otherwise I couldn't give away and which these Jewish people are advertising free of charge. You know, I'm a little embarrassed about these books myself, and yet, this way they're selling for me. Am I to blame for filling a market niche?

I was interviewed by Errol Morris in Boston for *Mr. Death*, his film about Fred Leuchter. Errol Morris is a very gifted film-maker. He's invented a camera he calls the "Interrotron." It has a kind of glass plate in front of it, on which he appears to the person being interviewed while he's off in another room. You look directly into the lens of the camera, and that creates an amazing effect. When you appear on the big screen, you're talking directly to everybody in the audience, because the camera's pointing right at you, and you're looking right into the camera. It is totally different from being filmed by a video camera, which allows you to shift this way and that. As Morris put very good questions to me in his four-hour interview, it suddenly dawned on me that

For some twenty years, Ernst Zündel was the leading force for Holocaust revisionism in Canada. With uncanny instinct for turning the tables against his attackers in the media and in the courts, Zündel converted his two trials for Holocaust "denial" in the 1980s into trials of Holocaust dogma. During those trials he commissioned the Leuchter report, won over David Irving, and compiled an unmatched trial record of revisionist research. Together with his wife, Ingrid Rimland, Ernst Zündel now lives and works in the United States. This essay is an edited version of the author's lecture to IHR's 13th conference (May 2000).

my initial Holocaust trials and revisionist publications were financed in considerable part by people who had bought my UFO books. There's something for the ADL's file! I realized, too, that Fred Leuchter winged his way to Poland on a sizeable donation from a lady who was one of my UFO fans, and who had bequeathed a substantial amount of money to me in 1985, with which I was able to pay much of my first trial. She came to me through the UFO books. All I'm telling you is that we revisionists have to be tolerant, not only of our opposition, but of ourselves. For where would Ernst have been without all that UFO money?

John Sack

I want to thank Greg Raven, Mark Weber, Ted O'Keefe, Ron Gray, and all the others who helped make this conference possible. It is really important, really important. Many people have told me how invigorating this experience of coming together without hostility has been. Like all movements, and revisionism is a historical movement, we have what we Germans call *Flugelkämpfe*, factional rivalries. The nice thing about revisionists is that we have been really very tolerant of one another. What makes us pliable, viable, and dangerous to our enemies is that we're not calcified and dogmatic.

John Sack has republished his book *An Eye for an Eye*. John and I had it out in four-hour sessions in which I told him, "John, you can't publish this. It's full of lies about Auschwitz from these Jewish 'eyewitnesses.'" And yet, I'm quite glad to see that the book has been republished because this Jewish writer, John Sack, has for the first time provided the American public with a detailed description of the tortures and the humiliation and the suffering of German people in Silesia. When I assailed him with my criticisms, he was gracious enough, and he told me, "Ernst, I am just quoting what these people said." And in a way, you see, the only choice he had was not to let them speak. What a one-sided book that would have been!

We revisionists are so tolerant that we say, "All right, John Sack, half of your book is historical bunk that's been refuted by Faurisson and many other revisionists, but the other half book is worthwhile, and you are welcome in our midst." That's what I like about us. Or take Charles Provan: he used to believe in the gas chambers. Then he became a revisionist and he didn't believe in them. The next time I hear from my friend Charles Provan, he's telling me, "Ernst, I believe that you could put eight hundred people in a gas chamber at Treblinka."

"Charles," I said, "come on now, somewhere down the road you're going to have to recant once again, and you're going to embarrass yourself" — although everybody has the right to embarrass himself. The fact that here we have a man who once believed in the gas chambers, then disbelieved, and then went back to believing in them doesn't mean we're going to bar the doors to him. Charles Provan does extremely good revisionist work in many other areas, and I have interviewed him several times for my radio broadcasts, which are heard all across the United States and Canada. I think that the IHR is quite correct in welcoming these two men here.

David Irving

That brings us to David Irving. I'm not going to preempt David Irving's time, but I think his recent trial is on everybody's mind, and I think that we should all view it from the same vantage point. I want it understood that there is nothing that we can change about the Irving-Lipstadt trial. The verdict is in. The condemnation is shrill. Our enemies are dancing in the streets. They are virtually drunk with victory. To outsiders, to those of you who haven't gone through trials this may seem frightening, and even ominous. But I can tell you that after every one of my many defeats in the courtroom, the headlines were as shrill. The condemnation was as vicious. They made my name dirt in Canada, which didn't prevent total strangers from walking up to me on the street, shaking my hand, patting me on the shoulder, fumbling in their pockets, and pulling out some money: "Ernst, that's for your case!" This after I've been condemned as the most evil neo-Nazi racist monster.

It's no different with David Irving. David Irving has done excellent revisionist work on the Third Reich. Although he says, "I'm not a revisionist," he means, perhaps "I'm not a gas chamber revisionist" — not that it helped him any. We know that, but I want to say that the concessions he made during the trial came as a shock only to us. To the man and woman in the street, who read the papers and listened to the newscasts, David Irving's concessions were meaningless. Do millions of people in England watching the evening news care whether 97,000 people allegedly did, or didn't die, in gas vans?

The larger picture is that, although we revisionists were disappointed, David Irving performed a sterling service. Take his cross-examination of that arrogant ignoramus, Jan Van Pelt. Reading the transcript, I wondered if David Irving had looked at Barbara Kulaszka's

book *Did Six Million Really Die?* to see how my attorney, Doug Christie, went after Raul Hilberg. That David Irving didn't, to my knowledge, consult Mark Weber, or Dr. Faurisson, or Doug Christie, or Barbara Kulaszka, or Dr. Butz before he brought suit against Penguin and Lipstadt means he is his own man. We revisionists had no alternative but to help him. Although David Irving sometimes strikes me as a prickly customer, I try to help him because I have a tremendous amount of admiration for this battling, courageous, handsome, and occasionally reckless man.

Yes, it was a setback. Yes, it would have been nice to have won. Realistically, though, I don't think there's a single person in this room who thought David Irving had much chance of winning. If he *had* fought a hardcore revisionist case, the written record of the trial, the transcripts and expert reports, would have been more revisionist, more historically accurate — that's really my only criticism. But it wouldn't have altered the outcome: a judgment so injudicious in its ferocity and in its nastiness to this man that it raises doubts about our opponents' self-confidence. I do not think that a system that feels secure in its power, let alone unassailable, would have needed to stoop to such personal vilification. The ad hominem attacks didn't reflect the mindset of people who feel secure or all-powerful. They betrayed a nervous twitching, and a shrillness, and to me their gloating seemed a bit contrived.

Worldwide Publicity

The worldwide avalanche of publicity unleashed by this Englishman will trouble our enemies for a long time to come. I think they realize that David Irving has put Holocaust revisionism on the map, certainly in the English-speaking world. I have a collection of the newspaper coverage in England. Now, British newspapers are the old-fashioned type, large enough in dimension to sleep on, like the big ones we used to have here in North America. During the Irving-Lipstadt trial they often ran full-page headlines, an inch high or more, and many times David Irving, who is admittedly one formidable-looking, and handsome, man, looked out at British newspaper readers with his serious demeanor and his fountain pen poised as if it were about to lance a boil. To me, as a graphic artist, and yes, as a propagandist, it was an advertiser's dream.

Certainly he lost. I lost, too. Had he won, the result would have been buried on page 34, in an article the size of business card. That's what happened to me. When I lost, it was always front-page news. But

revisionism got name-brand recognition during the Irving trial, big time. You see, if you couple a story with a picture, you get eighty percent more attention paid to it by readers. All that's necessary in the short run, which is really the focus of modern merchandising, advertising, and propaganda, is brand recognition. There isn't a literate newspaper reader in all of England or Australia, and I dare say Canada or America, who wasn't confronted at one time or another with the story that this English historian, this English revisionist, an author who has written thirty-four books, believes that there is something drastically wrong with the Holocaust story. That quote of all quotes, "More people died on the back seat of Ted Kennedy's car at Chappaquiddick than died in the gas chamber at Auschwitz," went around the world in so many translations it's amazing. People will remember those words longer than they'll remember the ludicrous idea that 97,000 people were gassed in experimental gas vans.

Today many people are aware that there is something wrong fundamentally with the Holocaust story, and these people were able to go directly to the Web sites. During my trials I prayed for the opportunity to share the courtroom transcripts with thousands of people on the outside. Imagine how many Englishmen, Americans, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Jews went to David Irving's Web site. It was addictive. For the first time, a trial was vicariously watched and analyzed by people around the globe, instantaneously. That was another benefit of the fallout from the Irving trial.

Bouncing Back

We will overcome the setback. There's absolutely no doubt in my mind that revisionism can do so. Our enemies are not all-powerful. They are human, and they can be defeated. This has just been proven by the South Lebanese Army fiasco in Lebanon. Now, you may say "Oh Ernst, that's stretching it." Well, let me tell you: it isn't. The reason these Hezbollah people won is this: they fought an informational campaign. In all modesty, I must tell you that in 1981 I was banned from the Canadian mail for publishing a booklet called "The West, War, and Islam." In it I had outlined to the Arab world: "Please don't spend any more money on hand-me-down, worn-out American or British military equipment. It's all garbage, and anyway, Israel always will get the state of the art in military hardware. You will never outgun these people in modern weaponry."

Although the Arabs cannot reverse this gap in mili-

tary technology, the Hezbollah found a way to fight back — with video cams and mini cams. They would go out with little patrols and film their guerrillas blowing up an Israeli truck with a rocket launcher. What a picture! Then they would take it to their community centers, and broadcast it over Arab television. The Israeli press, always hungry for sensational footage, would even play this Palestinian footage. So the Palestinians were able to reinforce their own people's staying power by saying, "Look, we're inflicting damage on the enemy," with video footage. At the same time they were working on the Jewish mothers whose sons were serving in southern Lebanon, weakening their will to resist because they were watching trucks with Jewish soldiers in them being blown up. Thus it was the informational campaign that weakened the Israelis' will to occupy Lebanon, even though they were armed to the teeth. These Palestinians managed to work on the mind of their enemies and virtually achieved what the Viet Cong achieved with Jane Fonda's footage in the United States in the Vietnam War. What I told the Arabs in 1981 has come true. Don't buy guns. Don't buy machine guns. Don't buy those rusty tanks or second-hand jets. Buy camcorders. Get on the Internet, and of course listen to Ernst's short-wave broadcasts. The pen is mightier than the sword.

What happened in southern Lebanon was revisionism. They certainly revised the borders. The Israelis slunk back, and what did their Lebanese vassals — I hate to insult Quisling — find when they got to the Israeli border? Their former trainers and teachers had their guns trained on them; suddenly they were no longer welcome. The kids in the streets of Gaza are going to remember that. They'll remember that Israel, too, has an Achilles heel. I wouldn't want to be an Israeli military strategist or political planner just now, because there's nothing that succeeds like success. Those teenaged Palestinian kids are going to say, "Our brothers up north did it, and we can do it too." While Israel's atomic stockpiles (which they don't admit to but everybody knows they have) sit idle in the desert, the kids are going to create havoc with their rocks. The film from the camcorders will be broadcast from Arafat's Palestinian television station, and it will go to work on the minds of Israeli mothers and Israeli veterans. Fatigue has set in, and Israel is an artificial creation. Israel as we have known it, that strutting, macho military power, throwing its weight around in the Middle East, may find itself humiliated, because there are so many Palestinians, so many Arabs, and so few Israelis. Nothing lasts forever.

Eastern Revisionism

While we build monuments to the six, five, four, three, one, million, whichever million you believe, in Eastern Europe, in the Baltic states, and in Belarus they're building monuments to SS men. Latvian and Estonian veterans of the SS are marching down the streets of their capitals with people on the curb cheering and saluting them. You don't hear much about that unless you're attuned to Eastern Europe, but that too is revisionism, and revisionism there is a movement that is just beginning to gather steam. It delights me that Jürgen Graf has had so many revisionist texts, so many of his own books quietly published in Russia. I have very good contacts with Russian nationalist publications, and the original version of *Did Six Million Really Die?* has been translated, expanded, improved upon, published, and reprinted in Russia. We've given the financially strapped Russian patriots revisionist works — about the "Holocaust," on my trials — in printing flats and on diskettes in Russian, so that all the Russian publisher has to do is run them off. As Jürgen said, there is an amazing thirst for knowledge and for understanding over there; and revisionists have more freedom in Russia than in the West. Can you believe that? We Western Europeans have always looked down on the "Russkies." We've always had a superiority complex about the East. Yet they can teach us a lesson when it comes to freedom, and courage, too, because there is more freedom for revisionists in Russia today than there is for German or French or Swiss revisionists in Western Europe.

The Future and the Internet

So, as we look around the globe, things don't look so dismal for us. Things actually look very good for revisionism. There's the Internet: Dr. Faurisson was telling me that Ahmed Rami, a former military officer from Morocco, has a Web site, and that recently it had 500,000 hits in a two week period. Imagine that! One nice thing about the Internet is that while you're sleeping, someone in Johannesburg or Brazil is looking at your Web site. Ingrid [Rimland]'s Zundelsite has just been completely revised. If you are Internet devotees, I suggest you go to the Zundelsite.org or Lebensraum.org. It's amazing what you can do today with this technology, absolutely amazing.

Of course there are frantic attempts to censor the Internet. In a recent decision by a French court, Yahoo is facing a fine of \$97,000 every day, if they don't find

some way of blocking information that gets to French people. No, I don't know how this will all play out, but for the moment we are reaching millions, in the far-flung corners of the world. Ingrid puts out a daily bulletin, the ZGram. I've seen many of the letters that come in. A sheep farmer in Australia writes, "Dear Dr. Rimland, I'm not going out to tend my sheep before I've had my morning coffee and my ZGram." There are people right in this room who have just met Ingrid for the first time, but have long been reading her ZGrams. The Internet allows for worldwide, almost instantaneous contact with people of different cultures, races, nationalities, ages. What an age we live in! Why should we despair? The Simon Wiesenthal Center, B'nai B'rith Canada, all these self-appointed censors are quaking in their boots at all the intelligent, computer-literate young people who go to revisionist sites to research their term papers. Many of them come to the Zundelsite for information, something that never happened before the Internet. It's a phenomenal development, the democratization of information, the leveling of the playing field. Suddenly, on the computer screen, we look as important as any of the big boys.

Legal Woes

As I must now share with you, last week was a tough one: I lost in court four times. In each instance, I'm required to pay my opposition's legal costs. That hurts all the more because I hate to give money to the lawyers for B'nai B'rith Canada and the Simon Wiesenthal Center. These Jewish groups had appealed my victories of April 13, 1999, against the Human Rights Tribunal, and the judges saw things, not surprisingly to me, the way they did. The good news is that I've instructed my attorneys to ask for leave to appeal to the Supreme Court, because the cases that we have brought are very substantial cases that deal with fundamental issues, such as truth. The State has told me, "Truth is not a defense in this case." Now, truth is fundamental to any civilized court of law; it is the rock upon which any justice system is built. Whenever you enter the witness box, you are brought a Bible and told to put your hand on it and to swear "to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God." When they ask me to step into the witness box now, and to swear on the Bible, what do I say? "Yes, I, Ernst Zündel, will tell lies and nothing but lies — because truth is not a defense"?

I also lost my Security Intelligence Review Committee appeal. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service called me, without any foundation in truth or fact, a

security threat to Canada. They delivered that smear in a note from the Minister of Immigration as I was rebuilding my house after it had been firebombed by Marxist terrorists. I was up on the third floor, ripping down the roof because it was completely charred. I looked down, and there was a man in a black suit handing a letter to one of my men. I didn't even have a roof on my burned-out house. Two weeks later I was sent a parcel bomb. The arsonists and the bombers have never been arrested, but the government had the nerve to call me, a man who has spent forty-four years in Canada, and an absolute advocate of Gandhi's non-violent protest methods, a security threat to that country. I have spent lots of money to reverse this disgusting labeling.

Venue Shopping

What's behind it all is that my opponents have gone institution shopping. Until now, they have lost in every venue. They lost the postal hearings. They were unable to deport me. They convicted me of the crime of spreading "false news," but I won on appeal in the Supreme Court. Finally, after losing every case against me, desperate to find a venue where they could prevail, they went to the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal. There they told me, "Truth is not a defense." Dr. Faurisson testified there, Mark Weber was an expert witness. They can tell how vicious, humiliating, and unconscionable was the behavior of the (mostly Jewish) Human Rights Commission lawyers. One of my associates remarked jokingly, "There's only one difference between these people and the mafia. They carry law degrees in their violin cases instead of Uzis." In the end, they're just as deadly. Their goal is to criminalize me, to convict me first before the Human Rights Tribunal, then before the Security Intelligence Review Committee, so that they can ship me off to the gulag of my native Germany.

Some people, even in our own ranks, have criticized me for spending too much money on court cases. A few have said that I'm addicted to the courtroom. Whoever believes that knows nothing about Ernst Zündel. I am the least prone to grace the inside of a court room. I cringe every morning I go to court. I'm an artist by trade. I'd much rather paint beautiful pictures. I'd just as soon study the Talmud as sit there going over words and phrases with lawyers. Every fiber of my being rebels against these court cases. But I had no choice: if I hadn't fought them I wouldn't be here. I wouldn't have been here in 1994. I would have been off to Germany in 1985, at the very latest, to suffer the same fate as Fredrick

Töben, Günther Deckert, Udo Walendy, in a land where there is no justice. The victorious Allies saw to that after 1945.

I do not battle in the courts because I like to. Please understand that, just as I understand that there exists what I call empathy, and donation, fatigue. The latest cases that our enemies have hurled at us are now so convoluted, so twisted, so talmudic that I can no longer proclaim that I'm tilting directly at the Holocaust windmill. It is now so complicated that even I have to call my lawyer and ask, "Barbara [Kulaszka], please, can you explain to me what the heck this means?"

Like the Lilliputians tying up Gulliver and pinning him down, that's what they're doing to me. That's what they plan for Jürgen Graf. It's really a tribute to Dr. Faurisson that they have been after him for so many years, because they fear him — and they fear us. People who are self-assured, people who have the truth on their side, can tolerate history being written the way things actually happened. They don't have resort to persecution. Most people understand that, so our struggle is worth fighting.

Doing What Needs to Be Done

Fred Töben was wondering whether he should return to Germany to appeal his sentence, at the risk of serving the rest of it. Well, I went back to Germany to appeal my conviction, because I'm one to fight when a principle is at stake. I went back, and they kept me there for five or six weeks. Finally, I had to fly back to Canada for a Supreme Court hearing four days before Christmas. Two days later I flew back to Germany just to be convicted, as I knew was going to happen anyway. So I paid \$2,750 for a one-way ticket to Germany to get convicted. Yet, the court record is an important historical record. We are leaving a legacy to our people, to our children. We are also setting examples to those who watch us.

As for Fred Töben, I'll give him some advice. I would not go back there to collect my conviction by Heiko Klein. There is nobody in this room, there is nobody in the revisionist movement that demands that you impale yourself on the fixed bayonets of the German repressive system. Now, Udo Walendy had the choice of leaving Germany before he went to jail. He could have gone to Spain. Many of you here know this white-haired, blue-eyed, ramrod-straight German: he said "Nein. I cannot do it." He's served his first term, and now, although he's in his seventies, Udo Walendy is serving his second jail term, for nothing more than try-

ing to bring truth to his German people. Ultimately it's Fred's personal choice, but to me there is no shame in recognizing overwhelming odds, so overwhelming that to attack frontally would be suicide. I don't think it's heroism to neutralize yourself. That's my honest opinion. Conviction is a foregone conclusion throughout Europe. Things have gone so far that an Austrian revisionist, the engineer Wolfgang Fröhlich, has had to seek asylum in the Iranian embassy. Seeing Europe, that once great continent, sunk so low, its people seemingly unable to liberate themselves, instead wallowing in wealth and forsaking all principle, fills me with shame. It is our job to fight back, by ringing the bell for freedom wherever we can, as loud as we can, as long as we can.

In closing, Mark Weber asked me, "Where do you think the IHR should be going?" There is still so much work to be done, so many minds to be liberated, so many people to be informed. The liberation of the Western world can only come through information. Only information will liberate our people — and revisionism is the tool. I'm not saying we cannot improve on what we have been doing. But I'm quite sure now that the IHR has turned the corner, that things are looking up, and that our outreach programs will improve. New topics will be touched on. New blood is coming in. New thinkers are emerging. Younger people are joining. This is an exciting time, and we are going to lick these people.

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"A people that does not know its own history cannot understand itself and its present. Only through an understanding of history can a people be fully aware of itself."

— Adalbert Stifter (1805-1868), German writer

The Holocaust in American Life

The Holocaust in American Life by Peter Novick. Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. Hardcover. 373 pages. \$27.00. Index, source references.

REVIEWED BY GREG RAVEN

Promotion of Holocaust claims has been a boom industry of late, considering the run-away best-seller by Daniel Goldhagen (which claimed that all Germans were responsible for mass executions of Jews), the financial extortion of the Swiss banks and German businesses, the legal travails of anyone outside of the U.S. who has the temerity to question even the smallest Holocaust-related claim, and the daily onslaught of Holocaust-related articles, movies, television shows, and books that continues unabated.

Even so, there is also a counter-trend, in which a few non-revisionist authors are questioning — if not the details — the implications of the Holocaust in contemporary life. Among these are last year's *Selling the Holocaust* by Tim Cole, and this year's powerful *The Holocaust Industry* by Norman Finkelstein. Peter Novick's *The Holocaust in American Life* is another book in this fast-expanding genre.

Novick, a professor of history (University of Chicago), believes that the Holocaust became ubiquitous in American life because certain events, such as the kidnapping and trial of Adolf Eichmann, gradually led to the realization by American Jews of the importance of the Holocaust, and its value as a lesson for mankind. He presents Jewish immigrants to America after the Second World War as wanting to tell of their experiences during the war, but holding off, in an attempt to fit in (p. 158) until non-Jews in America became more receptive to their message, which according to Novick happened because we came to see Israel as an ally in the Middle East, in the aftermath of their June 1967 "Six Day War" against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria.

In the course of presenting his case, Novick, like Finkelstein, offers page after page of amazing acknowledgements regarding, among other things, the massive public relations campaign that turned the Jewish experience in Europe during the Second World War into "the Holocaust," and the uses to which it has been put by Jewish leaders and others. But where Finkelstein brings passion to his subject, Novick presents himself

throughout as the calm, rational scholar, ever-sensitive to nuance and alternate viewpoints.

Whence 'the Holocaust'?

Even if you're not a revisionist, you might wonder why the experiences of a bunch of foreigners, which happened more than fifty years ago, half-way around the world, have become so central to modern American life. So does Novick (p. 2):

The Holocaust took place thousands of miles from America's shores. Holocaust survivors or their descendants are a small fraction of 1 percent of the American population, and a small fraction of American Jewry as well.... Americans, including many American Jews, were largely unaware of what we now call the Holocaust while it was going on ... So, in addition to "why now?" we have to ask "why here?"

Novick is hardly the first person to observe that "the Holocaust," which we are now told is all-important, was barely mentioned before the late seventies, suggesting that the fate of the Jews during the war was for many years viewed as being little different from the fates of others. Novick concurs (p. 2):

... surely there were some American Jews ... for whom the Holocaust was a traumatic experience. But the available evidence doesn't suggest that, overall, American Jews (let alone American gentiles) were traumatized by the Holocaust, in any worthwhile sense of that term.

What changed? Novick disingenuously writes (p. 6) that "... Jews have taken the initiative in focusing attention on the Holocaust in this country."

Why Jews? Novick recounts (p. 7) that "The Holocaust, as virtually the only common denominator of American Jewish identity in the late twentieth century, has filled a need for a consensual symbol." As a result (p. 200):

... in what might be called American "folk Judaism" — less bound by tradition and less scrupulous about theological consistency — a de facto sacralization of the Holocaust has taken place.

For America's largely non-Orthodox Jews, this now has lead to the Holocaust "displacing Israel at the center of American Jewish consciousness" (p. 168). This has happened, Novick explains (p. 120), to those who think that history — including Holocaust history — has more to do with facts and context than with feelings and whim, that "Every generation frames the Holo-

caust, represents the Holocaust, in ways that suit its mood."

Lest anyone think that Americans have participated in this framing (as opposed to having it thrust upon them by what can only be called non-Americans), Novick later clarifies (p. 278) this point:

For all of the extent to which the Holocaust has reverberated throughout American society, it's not clear that the Holocaust is an American collective memory in any worthwhile sense.

It's not as though no one has made an effort to connect Americans to the Holocaust, though (p. 235):

Only a minority of the European Jews murdered by Hitler resembled middle-class Americans, but that's how they've been most often represented to American audiences.

Promotion

According to Novick, that's largely because American Jews have been doing the representing. Novick writes (p. 208):

How did this European event come to loom so large in American consciousness? A good part of the answer is the fact ... that Jews play an important and influential role in Hollywood, the television industry, and the newspaper, magazine, and book publishing worlds. Anyone who would explain the massive attention the Holocaust has received in these media in recent years without reference to that fact is being naïve or disingenuous.

Jews in politics played their role (p. 208):

What were, de jure, government initiatives were often, de facto, those of Jewish aides, simultaneously promoting projects in which they believed and helping their employers score points with Jewish constituents.

As Novick makes clear (p. 216), the reason politicians need to "score points with Jewish constituents" is because of Jewish power:

[President Jimmy] Carter's initiative [to create the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum] was an attempt to placate American Jews, who were increasingly alienated by what they saw as the president's "excessive evenhandedness" in dealing with Israelis and Palestinians.

And how did the USHMM come into being?

According to Novick (p. 195):

It was American Jews' wealth and political influence that made it possible for them to bring to the Mall in

Washington a monument to their weakness and vulnerability.

Pyramid Power

Novick also deals (pp. 8-9) extensively with the post-war victimization cult in America, going so far as to imply that those Jews in America today who claim victim status are doing so fraudulently (he calls it "vicariously"):

American Jews were by far the wealthiest, best-educated, most influential, in-every-way-most-successful group in American society — a group that, compared to most other identifiable minority groups, suffered no measurable discrimination and no disadvantages on account of that minority status. But insofar as Jewish identity could be anchored in the agony of European Jewry, certification as (vicarious) victims could be claimed, with all the moral privilege accompanying such certification.

Novick acknowledges that Jews are atop the victimization pyramid, and notes (p. 223) that their only competition is from other Jews:

... unlike other groups that wanted to be recognized as victims of the Holocaust, gays do have political and cultural resources, and they don't face the same hostility to inclusion, based on prewar and wartime experience, encountered by Poles and Ukrainians. Their inclusion, moreover, could be seen as a contribution to the cause of combating homophobia. And many of their spokesmen, who press for inclusion, are Jewish.

By being "more equal" than others, one gains "moral capital." In this formulation, the revisionist movement isn't just to bring history into accord with the facts, but something far more sinister (p. 156):

Holocaust deniers, according to David Singer of the American Jewish Committee [in 1993], seek to "rob the Jewish people and the state of Israel of the moral capital."

There's no point in Americans looking for the benefits of this moral capital in the media, politics, or any other cultural institution; Novick himself says (p. 230) that the campaign against Swiss banks is really just seizing the "moral high ground."

Novick, however, is so intent on proving that the rise of Israel led to the rise of Holocaust promotion, that he ignores events that nullify his thesis: Zionist terrorism prior to the formation of Israel, the appointment of terrorists to the highest offices in Israeli politics, Israel's

purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia, the kidnapping of Adolf Eichmann from Argentina, the Israeli attack on the USS *Liberty*, the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, Israel's continuing defiance of the United Nations, Israel's collaboration with then-pariah South Africa in the development of nuclear weapons, Israel's own development of nuclear weapons, Israel's improper sales of weapons to everyone from the communists in China to Serbs in Kosovo, the 1973 attack on a Libyan airliner that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of civilians (p. 154), the Pollard spy scandal, and atrocities in occupied territories too numerous to mention here. If as Novick claims it was the public image of Israel that accounts for the tremendous increase in Holocaust propaganda, then why haven't these negative images of Israel counter-balanced the (largely false) image of an "embattled Israel"? The answer, which Novick acknowledges without examining it too closely, lies in the dominant power of American Jewry.

Jews and Communism

In the U.S., where for decades Jews have comprised between two and three percent of the population, Novick notes (p. 93):

... it was also correct, and becoming manifest, that a great many — perhaps most — American Communists in these years [1940s] were Jews.

You don't have to take his word for it (p. 92):

Lucy Dawidowicz — later well known as an historian of the Holocaust, but in these years [after 1945] the American Jewish Committee's expert on Communism — kept running tabulations for the Committee on the percentage of Jews among "hostile witnesses" before various investigative bodies. Jews, she found, often made up 75 percent or more of the totals.

By the late forties, a time when Novick points out that Jewish leaders were promoting the "sameness" of European Jews and Americans, communists were invoking Holocaust claims to drive a wedge between the U.S. and West Germany. The Holocaust was also a pretext used by Julius Rosenberg to justify his espionage for the Soviet Union (p. 94).

Novick's treatment of the tension between the drive to promote "sameness" (that is, the view that Jews in America had nothing to do with communism) during the Cold War, and the fact that the communists were making Holocaust claims ("featuring the Holocaust was ... Communist Party policy"), is the most intriguing

section of the book. Unfortunately, Novick never deals with the issues of how, by the late fifties and early sixties, the communist's distorted Holocaust claims came to be so widely known in America, or why, once the survivors felt free to express themselves, so little of this Soviet disinformation was repudiated.

Discards

You wouldn't expect Novick, a historian who is not above quoting (p. 56) the discredited "confessions" of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, to discard any part of the received Holocaust legend. Yet he does. The story that the corpses of Jews were turned into soap is "... now dismissed as without foundation by historians of the Holocaust" (p. 23). About Babi Yar, he writes (p. 22):

Thus, after the Soviet recapture of Kiev, the *New York Times* correspondent traveling with the Red Army underlined that while Soviet officials claimed that tens of thousands of Jews had been killed at Babi Yar, "no witnesses to the shooting ... talked with the correspondents"; "it is impossible for this correspondent to judge the truth of falsity of the story told to us"; "there is little evidence in the ravine to prove or disprove the story."

Another oft-repeated Holocaust claim is that everyone knew there was a (secret) Nazi plan to exterminate the Jews, and no one did anything to stop it. Novick notes that it didn't seem to make much of an impression at the time (p. 105):

Leo Bogart ... wrote a thesis on [postwar American Jewish response to the Holocaust].... One of his approaches ... was soliciting lengthy written statements from a number of young Jews. He found that except for two individuals who were in the armed forces in Europe at the end of the war, it did not appear that "the extermination of Europe's Jews had had any real emotional effect upon the writers of the statements, or that it has influenced their basic outlook."

As Arthur R. Butz pointed out at the IHR's Thirteenth Conference, statements such as these are a paradox ("How could they have known about it and not cared?") only if you postulate that there was something about which to care in the first place. If the alleged extermination did not happen as we have been told, then there is no paradox, and the statement seems self-explanatory.

Recently, there have been increasing accusations by

Jews that Pius XII did nothing to save European Jews during the War. Novick points out (p. 143), "... at the time of Pius's death in 1958 they [Jewish groups] had vied with each other in fulsome tributes to his wartime role in rescuing Jews."

In contrast to the position of Holocaust scribes such as Elie Wiesel and Deborah Lipstadt, who simultaneously claim that the Holocaust was unique, and that by being reminded of it constantly we can somehow apply (compare) it to other situations, Novick writes (p. 9):

The assertion that the Holocaust is unique — like the claim that it is singularly incomprehensible or unrepresentable — is, in practice, deeply offensive.

Novick seems unconcerned (p. 156) that those who "universalize" the Holocaust are sometimes charged with plundering the "moral capital" it brings Jews.

The Survivors

Virtually all the Holocaust presentations being pushed on Americans are built on the testimony and statements of Jewish "survivors." Elie Wiesel has stated that any survivor has more to say about the Holocaust than any historian (though he also reminds us that it is impossible to put the Holocaust experience into words). Novick informs (p. 83) us what their contemporaries thought of this national treasure:

American Jews, or Jews in the Yishuv [Palestine], would have been incredulous at the idea, later a commonplace, that survivors' memories were a "precious legacy" to be preserved.

This "precious legacy" is now reaping untold benefits (pp. 259-60): "A different kind of interest — often overwhelming students — is generated by the frequent visits of survivors to classrooms."

Thanks to the "important and influential role" Jews play in the media, it now often seems that one cannot pick up a newspaper without reading something related to the Holocaust. Novick has noticed this, too (p. 276):

After having gone through thousands of newspaper stories on the Holocaust, I'm struck by how often the pathos of interviewing or quoting a local survivor was the peg on which such stories were hung.

Even so, Novick doesn't have a very high opinion (p. 275) of the typical survivor's testimony:

... it is held that survivors' memories are an indispensable historical source that must be preserved ... In fact, those memories are not a very useful historical source.

Part of the reason memories are faulty has to do with the passage of time, intensity of emotion, and many other factors. Novick goes even farther (pp. 68-69), to implicitly condemn the character of the living:

Samuel Lubell wrote in the *Saturday Evening Post*:

"For the Jews of Eastern Europe the Nazi gas chambers constituted a kind of grim, perverted Darwinism, psychologically and physically. Six years of systematic extermination ... bred a strange pattern of tenacious survival.... It was a survival not of the fittest, not of the most high-minded or reasonable and certainly not of the meekest, but of the toughest." "Often," wrote one local Jewish official, "it was the 'ex-ghetto' elements rather than the upper class or white collar groups who survived ... , the petty thief or leader of petty thieves who offered leadership to others, or developed techniques of survival." From Europe, a top leader of the American Jewish Committee wrote to a colleague in New York: "Those who have survived are not the fittest ... but are largely the lowest Jewish elements, who by cunning and animal instincts have been able to escape the terrible fate of the more refined and better elements who succumbed." ... And in David Ben-Gurion's view, the survivors included "people who would not have survived if they had not been what they were — hard, evil and selfish people, and what they underwent there served to destroy what good qualities they had left."

Shaking the Money Tree

Novick does make the connection between Jewish feelings of being outsiders and the Holocaust as a fund-raising tool (p. 165):

The peaks of monetary contributions to Israel were in 1967 and 1973 when the Jews of Israel were thought to be on the eve of another Holocaust.

Jewish fund-raisers in America were quick to note this, and soon (p. 145):

... the Holocaust came to be regularly invoked — indeed, brandished as a weapon — in American Jewry's struggles on behalf of an embattled Israel.

He even goes one step farther, though, to show (p. 188) the cynical use of "the Holocaust" by Jewish leaders seeking funds:

The millionaire who provided most of the original funding for the Simon Wiesenthal Center told a reporter that it was "a sad fact that Israel and Jewish education and all the other familiar buzzwords no

longer seem to rally Jews behind the community. The Holocaust, though, works every time.”

Flexing Muscle

Novick can’t find (p. 166) any proof that the Holocaust has had any effect on U.S. foreign policy, but acknowledges that (p. 155):

The Holocaust framework allowed one to put aside as irrelevant any legitimate grounds for criticizing Israel, to avoid even considering the possibility that the rights and wrongs were complex.

He also recognizes that powerful Jewish interests in America will do anything to get their way (p. 167):

AIPAC [American Israel Public Affairs Committee] ... has lavishly rewarded members of Congress who have supported Israel and ruthlessly punished those who have been critical of Israeli policies.

So here we have Novick, who believes that the image of Israel as “embattled” lead to the rise of Holocaust awareness, has acknowledged that the Holocaust is used as a weapon to deflect criticism (as well as gain advantages otherwise unavailable), and knows that pro-Israel lobbying groups are very effective in persuading members of Congress (and others?) to do their bidding, yet he can’t find proof that the Holocaust has had any effect on U.S. foreign policy.

Lessons of the Holocaust

Novick implies (p. 253) that the Holocaust can sensitize us to other tragedies. After a couple of false starts at coming up with his “lesson of the Holocaust,” Novick weakly offers (pp. 262):

There was a disposition, before the Holocaust, to think of the most barbarous deeds as being the work of the most barbarous folk — the least cultured, the least advanced. We’ve learned from the Holocaust that that’s wrong. Perhaps there are other lessons, but nothing that will fit on a bumper sticker, and nothing to inspire.

He believes that the urge to teach the “lessons of the Holocaust” (which he can’t quite pin down) comes from the hope that out of it will come “something that is, if not redemptive, at least useful.” However, he concludes, “I doubt it can be done” (p. 263). Nowhere does Novick, who lists some “good” reasons for remembering the Holocaust (pp. 239ff), point out the penalties for failing to do so.

Holocaust and Historiography

Novick’s calm demeanor and nuanced approach crack only when he refers to Holocaust revisionists. Novick mischaracterizes revisionists as “deniers” who are a “tiny band of malicious or deluded fruitcakes” (p. 13), a “tiny band of cranks, kooks, and misfits” and “fruitcakes” (p. 270) who “deny that the Holocaust took place.” Novick also claims (pp. 270–2) that revisionists would be inconsequential, had it not been for powerful Jewish forces who in 1993 used the threat of revisionism to usher in the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Throughout his book, Novick continues what has been referred to as “the long tradition of Jewish scholarship that deliberately distorts the historical record to further Jewish group interests” (Brian Chalmers, “The ‘Jewish Question’ in 15th and 16th Century Spain,” Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*). Because many of his points are couched so obscurely that trying to determine what Novick actually thinks often exasperates, what stands out most are individual statements. Novick’s book — like Finkelstein’s — is a gold mine of information for revisionists. Novick’s approach to these datum points, however, seems so conscious of Jewish group interests that the book appears to be written only for other Jews.

To put a scholarly veneer over the gaping holes in his account of the Holocaust’s rise to power, Novick claims (p. 261):

If there is ... any wisdom to be acquired from contemplating an historical event, I would think it would derive from confronting it in all its complexity and its contradictions; the ways in which it resembles other events to which it might be compared as well as the ways it differs from them.

With regards to Holocaust claims, this is exactly what Novick has failed to do, aside from granting that it is (and should be) compared to other historical events. His lip service to historiography ends quickly, however, as he then writes (p. 261):

It is not — least of all when it comes to the Holocaust — a matter of approaching the past in a neutral or value-free fashion, or of abstaining from moral judgment. And it’s not a matter of taking a disengaged academic stance.

Does this mean that if you agree with what he and other Jewish historians say about the Holocaust, there’s no sense in reining yourself in? Does this mean that anti-Semites and neo-Nazis would make fine historians of the Holocaust, as long as they don’t “abstain from moral judgment”? Will one approach be deemed better

than another because it is more subjective? We can only wonder what Novick had in mind in juxtaposing these two statements.

Typical Effort

Not reflected in the cites above is Novick's systematic distortions of history, and of the roles of Jews in that history. Novick notes (p. 158) that Jews sometimes present themselves as the same as Americans (when they are powerless, or in need of help), and that they sometimes present themselves as being different (p. 159) or even superior (p. 170) when they are in a position of power. Even though he claims to be searching for reasons why the Holocaust came to inhabit such a vaunted position in American life, he completely fails to notice that Jews were essentially silent about Holocaust claims when they were relatively powerless in American society, and increasingly vocal about these claims as their power grew. Novick is blind to this phenomenon, which has given rise to the characterization of Jews as being "at your feet or at your throat." For him, the two positions are nothing more than two different, equally valid postures Jews might take at any given time.

Novick nowhere even hints that some of the problems between Jews and non-Jews might be due to actions of the Jews themselves. For Novick, there is no need for Jews to change any of their behaviors, and in fact, Jews must remain separate (p. 185). Novick seemingly accepts this, and offers (p. 189) a stunning example:

... a survey of American Jewish volunteer fund-raisers in the late seventies found three quarters agreeing that "I feel more emotional when I hear Hatikvah [Israel's national anthem] than when I hear the Star-Spangled Banner."

This supports one of the most common charges, that Jews are more committed to Jewish interests than the interests in the countries in which they live. Novick quotes (p. 182) Wiesel to this effect: "By working for his own people a Jew ... makes his most valuable contribution ..."

Important for Revisionists

One aspect of "the Holocaust" that comes through clearly in Novick's book is that there was never any intention of remembering Jewish suffering primarily as part of the historical record: there was always some secondary agenda tied to its promotion. Whether the goal was fund-raising, political power, Jewish unification, or

all-purpose warrant and extenuation, "the Holocaust" was seen as merely the means to the end. (To be fair, this is little different from American Jews raising money for Israel, even though they themselves have no intention of going there.)

This book is not important because it reveals new details about Holocaust claims, or because it cites heretofore unknown documents, or because it breaks new ground in interpreting contemporaneous evidence. It is important because a Jewish historian has stated truths about the Holocaust and its use by Jews, the voicing of which by persons such as Ernst Zündel in Canada has landed in court, and even in prison. Revisionists have long since gone more than halfway in bridging the gap between what we know about the Holocaust and what we have been told. It's nice to see someone on the other side making an effort, no matter how small, to arrive at a more complete understanding.

Making Room for the Revisionists

The Holocaust in American Life by Peter Novick. Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. Hardcover. 373 pages. \$27.00. Index, source references.

The Holocaust Industry: Reflections on the Exploitation of Jewish Suffering by Norman Finkelstein. London, New York: Verso, 2000. Hardcover. 150 pages. Index.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL CROWELL

In the past couple of years, two books by American Jewish professors have served to initiate public debate about the use and abuse of the Holocaust. In his 1999 *Holocaust and American Life*, Peter Novick, a professor of history at the University of Chicago, traced the evolution of the concept "Holocaust" in the United States since the Second World War. Norman Finkelstein, a

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a "moderate revisionist." At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German, and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher. Crowell's lengthy essay, "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters," was published in the July-August 1999 *Journal*, pp. 7-30.

professor of political theory at City University of New York, went on to take Novick's ideas several steps further in his *Holocaust Industry*, which stridently attacks the manipulation of the Holocaust for the financial gain of Jewish agencies. Neither book rehearses any of the traditional historical revisionist arguments, but in fact their focus on the abuse of the Holocaust, and its unnatural dominance in American public life, repeats old revisionist themes. More important, both books have begun to create a climate in which a more skeptical attitude toward the facts of the Holocaust will become possible, and that in turn will only work to the benefit of revisionist research.

A Thing Called 'The Holocaust'

Novick's point of departure was a mixture of curiosity about the extent to which the Holocaust was invoked in American life and skepticism about the usefulness of its dominant role. Hence his study is simply an attempt to reconstruct chronologically how the Holocaust was perceived from the Second World War to the present, and in this sense his book might be called a history of the idea of the Holocaust.

This creates some problems in the early chapters of his book, because Novick soon realizes that the idea of the Holocaust today did not exist in the Second World War, or even for some years thereafter. To be specific, until the late 1960s, whatever had happened to the Jews was subsumed into the general idea of "Nazi atrocities" carried out against all of the Third Reich's political opponents, by a very small circle of individuals, and almost entirely in secret "extermination camps" the knowledge of which was concealed not only from the world at large but even from the German people. As a result, when Novick claims that the Holocaust was or was not discussed in the 1940s or '50s, he is usually using a very expanded definition of the term that in effect includes the entire Nazi concentration camp system. This can be a little disconcerting to the reader when he compares Novick's statements to the footnotes that underlie them.

Yet this discontinuity tends to underline one of the book's strengths, which is that it succeeds in locating the creation of the idea of the Holocaust in the 1960s, and specifically in the time frame of the Six Day War of 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973. This separation of idea and events is fruitful in many ways. In the first place, it makes it clear that criticism of the idea of the Holocaust can be separated from the events that com-

prise it: one can criticize the abuse of the idea without being a "Holocaust denier." But on the other hand Novick's citing of the concept in the 1960s also suggests that the re-evaluation of allegations of Nazi atrocity in the Second World War should be able to proceed without reference to the "Holocaust" at all.

A further value of Novick's placement of the birth of the Holocaust idea is that it helps explain the internal chronology of Holocaust revisionism. In a lecture to the first IHR conference in 1979, Arthur Butz expressed some wonderment about the fact that a number of independent researchers all reached similar revisionist conclusions in the same general time frame: the late 1960s and the early 1970s. But according to Novick's analysis, this coincides with the origination of the Holocaust concept along with its first widespread usage in international politics. It may be seen, then, that Holocaust revisionism was the natural complement to the development of the idea of the Holocaust itself.

As to the cause of the development of this Holocaust idea, Novick is much less clear. While recognizing the takeoff of the Holocaust idea at the time of Israeli emergence as a military power in the Middle East, he gives little credit to the notion that Zionist propaganda was consequential in its emergence, partly because he doesn't believe that America's policy towards Israel is shaped by the Holocaust. Moreover, since his emphasis is on the idea of the Holocaust in America alone, he is able to ignore the extent to which Holocaust imagery has always been central to Israeli politics.

By failing to deal with the evolution of the Holocaust concept in Israel, Novick is left with something of a mystery. He has a situation in which the Holocaust became prominent in the United States but only some twenty-five years after the events described under its rubric transpired. Novick attempts to explain this by suggesting that the Holocaust was repressed (a position he ultimately rejects), and tends rather to argue that it was suppressed, because, in the prevailing Cold War climate, it raised uncomfortable questions about the Jewish involvement in European communism. To the extent that Novick is able to support this argument by reference to the internal papers of Jewish organizations that were active in the 1950s in suppressing associations of Jewishness and communism in the media, he stands on firm ground. But it seems to us that a simpler explanation for the growth of the Holocaust idea in America would be that the Zionist conception of the Holocaust was simply exported here and took root.

Novick tends to explain the pre-eminence of the Holocaust idea in American culture in the last two decades by reference to "market forces" and the simple fact that "[Jews] are not only 'The people of the book' but the people of the Hollywood film and the television miniseries, of the magazine article and the newspaper column, of the comic book and the academic symposium" (p. 12). According to this argument, the prominence of Jews in the media makes Jewish concerns prominent. Further, American Jews have been led to see the Holocaust as the fundamental characteristic of their identity since the ordinary appeals to the Jewish life and religion have lost their attraction. In other words, the Holocaust is used as a kind of threat to ensure, in effect, that Jews remain Jews; because of the Jewish dominance in the media, the non-Jewish majority is constantly exposed to this message.

It is at this point of his book that Novick begins to criticize the inaccuracy and vulgarity of many Holocaust representations, including those of Elie Wiesel, and to decry the "mystification" of the Holocaust. Being a liberal humanist, as well as a Jew, Novick takes offense with such claims that the Holocaust is "unique" or that it "cannot be rationally comprehended" or that it cannot be compared to other instances of mass persecution and murder, in other words, genocide. In this respect, Novick puts himself at odds with the majority of Holocaust authors, including Deborah Lipstadt, who is singled out for criticism. (In a fascinating footnote, Novick reveals that the author of the term "genocide," Raphael Lemkin, implicitly endorsed the idea of comparison in the 1950s in his correspondence with German-Americans by suggesting that the postwar expulsion of the Germans was itself a form of genocide.)

It is certainly difficult for revisionists to disagree with Novick's judgments in these later chapters, especially since they are identical to the kinds of things revisionists have been saying for decades. However, Novick goes out of his way to dissociate himself from revisionism, calling revisionists "crackpots" and "fruitcakes" in his rare references to them. But then, Novick never asked himself why the Holocaust has become "mystified," "beyond reason," and "incommensurable" in the first place. If he had, he would have realized that these clichés represent an attempt to obscure the events and dissuade the skeptic or scholar from testing the facts and attempting to put them in a meaningful historical context. In other words, Novick's contempt is misplaced: in our view, the "sacralization" of the Holocaust

idea occurred as a direct response to the revisionist challenge to the Holocaust on discrete factual terms. One may, as Novick does, object to the irrationality of Holocaust remembrance, but the substitution of reason for mystery is the essence of Holocaust revisionism.

Novick's book is important in several respects. It has allowed a wide public airing of many criticisms of the Holocaust ideology long made by revisionists such as Butz, Faurisson, and Lilienthal. It locates the emergence of the Holocaust as an idea at a specific point in time, incidentally helping to explain the chronology of Holocaust revisionism. It helps separate the ideology of the Holocaust from the disputed facts of the Holocaust, although it questions few of these. Finally, it helps create space for broader, deeper criticism of the "instrumentalization" of the Holocaust, as well as more critical thinking. Indeed, *The Holocaust in American Life* provided the actual springboard for Norman Finkelstein.

The Selling of the Holocaust

Late in 1999, Norman Finkelstein was asked to write a review of Novick's book, and that review, fleshed out with considerable detail and moral indignation, has become *The Holocaust Industry*. To understand Finkelstein's approach it is important to understand a few things about his background. Both of Finkelstein's parents were Polish Jews, who were deported from the Warsaw Ghetto and who survived a series of concentration camps, including Auschwitz and Majdanek. Finkelstein clearly venerates their memory and the sufferings they underwent. He also deeply honors the memory of his parents, who, by what he tells us, interpreted the suffering of the Jewish people in the Second World War in a universalist context. As a result, Finkelstein's main approach to the Holocaust is that the Jewish people should not be singled out as victims nor should the German people singled out as perpetrators. These are attitudes that Finkelstein has discussed elsewhere, as for example in *A Nation on Trial*, in which Finkelstein condemned Daniel Goldhagen's tract *Hitler's Willing Executioners* as a group libel on the German people.

Another characteristic of Finkelstein's thinking is that he is suspicious of all political elites, whether Jewish or gentile, and has always been sharply critical of Zionism. Indeed, Finkelstein first made a name for himself in the 1980's with his critique of Joan Peters' *From Time Immortal*, a Zionist version of Middle East history which essentially argued that before the Jewish immigrants arrived there were no Arabs in Pal-

estine. As a result, Finkelstein has always been sharply critical of the manipulation of the Holocaust. Indeed, in *A Nation on Trial* he even went so far as to call the Holocaust as usually discussed essentially the ideology-laden Zionist "version" of the Holocaust.

Finkelstein benefits from Novick's distinction of the Holocaust as an idea as separate from the events themselves. In *The Holocaust Industry* he is now able to strongly criticize the Holocaust as a representation without having to get mired in details about the scope or methods of the Nazi persecution of the Jews.

In the first chapter of his brief book, Finkelstein gives his own version of the emergence of the Holocaust idea. Unlike Novick, who centers the idea in support for Israel, later to be overtaken by the utility of the concept in defining Jewish identity, Finkelstein traces the promotion of the Holocaust idea to its usefulness to the United States government and in particular to the "Jewish elites" (a favorite phrase) who benefit from such promotion with wealth and power. In this area, Finkelstein's analysis is a bit more convincing than Novick.

While he disagrees with Novick about the actual mechanics of the Holocaust idea's emergence, Finkelstein agrees with Novick, and goes much further than his elder colleague, with the idea that the Holocaust serves ideological purposes by casting the Jews as eternal victims of irrational gentile enmity. In this way, suggests Finkelstein, not only does Israel become immune to criticism, but so do any Jews, as they retreat into conservative positions to defend their vested interests.

In the following section, Finkelstein deplores the abuse of the Holocaust, and the "hoaxers" and "hucksters" who stand behind it. Repeating criticisms from his own writings, Novick's book, and thirty years of revisionist analysis, Finkelstein excoriates the various poseurs who have made a living off the Holocaust, among whom he lists not only Wiesel, but Jerzy Kosinski and of course "Binyamin Wilkomirski," the Swiss clarinetist who successfully passed himself off as a child survivor of the camps until recently exposed. He also allows himself to attack the various buzz-words of the Holocaust vocabulary, but, unlike Novick, is able to say something in support of revisionists, duly referencing Gordon Craig's defense of David Irving, and Arno Mayer's use of revisionist authors in his *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (As we know, Mayer's bibliography referenced the writings of both Arthur Butz and Paul Rassinier, which in academic usage points to their respectability. [See the reviews by Arthur Butz and

Robert Faurisson in volume nine, number three of *The Journal of Historical Review.*])

It is in the final section of his book, entitled "The Double Shakedown," that Finkelstein most clearly makes his mark. This long section, comprising almost half the text, is a relentless retelling of the means whereby a handful of Jewish agencies, without apparently any constituent support, used class action lawyers and the American media to in effect blackmail the Swiss government for \$1.25 billion dollars. Then, Finkelstein goes over the story of how the same forces worked together to compel the German government to make yet another compensation deal, this time for \$5 billion, ostensibly to be paid to the survivors, Jewish and non-Jewish, whose labor had been exploited in concentration and labor camps.

Finkelstein registers his disgust not just with the tactics employed, although his narrative contains much shocking detail of greed and cynicism: he also raises questions about where all these billions in compensation are going. For example, if the Volcker Commission established that the amounts held in dormant "Holocaust Era" accounts in Swiss banks were significantly less than \$1.25 billion, one may legitimately inquire as to the ultimate destination of the remainder. Finkelstein makes it clear that he believes that these funds will disappear into the coffers of the Jewish agencies that initiated the action, or into the pockets of the enterprising lawyers they employed.

Finkelstein applies the same skepticism to the German compensation plan. This plan is keyed to estimated numbers of both Jewish and non-Jewish survivors. Finkelstein correctly notes that if the number of Jewish concentration camp survivors today numbers around 135,000, as the Jewish agencies maintain, they must have numbered half a million or more in 1945. But such a calculation, which accords with revisionist analysis, contradicts the very low estimates of Holocaust historians. Finkelstein concludes therefore that the number of survivors has been deliberately inflated, and that little of the \$5 billion in German money will ever reach the elderly or destitute Jewish men and women who most need it.

Conclusion

Novick's *Holocaust in American Life* was a welcome addition to discussions of the Holocaust primarily because it succeeded in separating the concept from the events, which in turn made it possible to criticize the

seemed locked in a time warp: they fail to discuss any of the extensive revisionist forensic and documentary research of the past several years.

On the whole, *Denying History* is simply an expansion of what Shermer offered in his previous book: various vignettes about leading revisionists, speculations as to why they believe what they believe, without the slightest thought that they might be at least partly right. Shermer, as before, deserves praise for his patient, almost didactic tone when discussing revisionists, but, also as before, he falls far short in his efforts to provide any proof of what he alleges as fact. The sole novelty of the book comes from the presentation of additional evidence for mass gassing and the existence of an extermination program. But this evidence, as usual in Holocaust histories, doesn't really move beyond the implausibilities of the eyewitness accounts, and the supplementary detail in the end proves nothing, except, perhaps, the existence of a bomb shelter in the Mauthausen crematorium.

Lying about Hitler

Lying about Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial, by Richard J. Evans. New York: Basic Books, 2001. Hardcover. 318 pp.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL CROWELL

Doubtless one of the more memorable episodes from last year's libel trial of David Irving v. Deborah Lipstadt was the lengthy clash between Irving, acting as his own attorney, and expert witness Richard Evans, the British historian, who had submitted an eight hundred-page assault on Irving's character and historical career. For eight days, Irving poked holes in Evans's arguments and tried to get Evans to support his positions *ex tempore*, while Evans, hands thrust deep in pockets, refused to meet Irving's gaze and read out long and stultifying passages from his report.

The present book is essentially Evans's memoir of the trial, accompanied by a condensed version of his expert report in support of Lipstadt, and his observations on the trial's aftermath. The trial, it will be remembered, hinged on Irving's claim that Deborah Lipstadt had libeled him in her 1993 book *Denying the Holocaust*, a book that was bankrolled by the Jerusalem-based Vidal Sassoon Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism. To bolster her defense, Lipstadt's supporters,

including *Schindler's List* director Steven Spielberg, hired several historians to write reports that argued that Lipstadt's criticisms of Irving were justified. Some of the reports were professionally done and seemed objective, as for example the expert opinion of Christopher Browning, though most revisionists would disagree with his conclusions. On the other hand, the reports of Robert Jan Van Pelt and, in particular, Evans himself were so heavily interlarded with condemnations of David Irving it was difficult to separate legitimate historical analysis from gratuitous attacks.

Lying about Hitler suffers from the same problem. While this book is somewhat milder in tone than Evans's vociferous expert report, nevertheless the seeming compulsiveness with which Evans appears obliged to accuse David Irving of falsifying and manipulating documents gets in the way of whatever historical value this book may have.

The book comprises seven chapters. The first describes Evans's introduction to the Irving suit, the next two discuss Adolf Hitler's role in the "Final Solution," a further chapter discusses Irving as a "Holocaust denier," while a fifth considers the bombing of Dresden, the subject of Irving's first book. Two further chapters discuss Evans's testimony and post-trial perspectives. Of most direct interest to revisionists is the chapter entitled "Irving and Holocaust denial," in which, oddly enough, the kinder and gentler Richard Evans is most apparent.

For the most part Evans gives a fair treatment to revisionists, describing the writings of Paul Rassinier, Arthur Butz, Wilhelm Stäglich, and Robert Faurisson more or less accurately and with no evident malice. Evans avoids, for example, the rather silly name calling that mars Peter Novick's *Holocaust in American Life*. Nor does Evans rush to judgment in assessing the motives of revisionists: for example, Evans sees Rassinier's motives rooted not in anti-Semitism but in his actual experiences in the camps. This generally fair beginning breaks down rather quickly, however, for two reasons. First, because Evans is out to prove that David Irving is a "Holocaust denier"; second, because Evans is clearly out of his depth when discussing the Holocaust in any detail.

Evans tends to focus on such things as Irving's comments about the number of victims, or his ridicule of some claims. Armed with excerpts from Irving's videotaped speeches, Evans goes on to argue Irving's status as a "denier." Yet Evans' standards of what constitutes

denial constantly change. On the one hand, Evans stipulates that it is “denial” to claim a wartime Jewish death toll in the hundreds of thousands, but while Irving at one point conjectured a death toll between one and four million, that doesn’t count, because many of these deaths were attributed to disease. Nor is Evans above pure ad hominem arguments: a lengthy section in this chapter consists of nothing more than detailing Irving’s relationship with the Institute for Historical Review, which is also smeared.

On the subject of gassing, Evans is particularly weak. He claims that there is documentary evidence for gassing at the extermination camps of Chelmno, Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec, and Auschwitz-Birkenau, thus contradicting Christopher Browning’s expert report, which explicitly discusses the absence of such documentation, as well as Van Pelt’s report, which references only a few ambiguous documents. Beyond this point, Evans simply repeats the standard anti-revisionist lore: how the Leuchter report has been “discredited,” how much more Zyklon was needed to kill bugs rather than humans, and so on.

Evans’ sole independent speculation on the subject of gassing falls completely flat. At one point, he tries to argue that the spurious “gas chamber” at Dachau is a non-issue for the general credibility of the gassing claim because “not even Irving claimed that the evidence presented at Nuremberg said that the gas chamber at Dachau ever actually came into use” (p. 124). In his footnote, Evans argues that “only one witness at Nuremberg claimed to have seen bodies in the [Dachau] gas chambers: they may have been moved there temporarily from the adjacent crematorium, which was used for executions,” and quotes from what is apparently the Dachau tourist brochure (p. 286). Bearing in mind the actual content of Nuremberg witness Dr. Franz Blaha’s justly famous affidavit, in which he claimed to have examined gassing victims, two or three of them still stirring, in the Dachau gas chamber (*Trial of the Major War Criminals*, Nuremberg: 1947, vol. 5, pp. 172-173), we conclude that Professor Evans is indeed qualified to discourse on the falsification and/or manipulation of historical documents, if only on the basis of personal experience.

There are many gaps in Evans’s treatment of the gassing claim, particularly for Auschwitz. For example, except for a brief glancing reference in the conclusion, there is no discussion at all of the missing holes in the roof of the Crematorium II “gas chamber,” without

which any gassing in conformance with all received accounts would have been impossible. Nor does Evans bother to discuss the gastight air raid-shelter interpretation of the crematorium basements, even though it was an important part of Irving’s defense, and even though it was discussed by all the relevant parties to the case. This leads to the most mysterious gap of all, the virtual non-existence of Professor Robert Jan Van Pelt in this book. In fact, Van Pelt is reduced to only one substantive mention, when he supposedly counseled Evans not to look Irving in the eye, because “[I]t’ll just make you angry” (p. 199). Thus the expert who was the most highly paid, who covered the camp where the most people were supposedly gassed, and whose expert report most nearly rivaled Evans’s in sheer bulk, is mentioned solely in connection with explaining away Evans’s rude behavior in the dock.

Toward the end of the book, Evans shifts his sights away from Irving to those who defended him, both before, during, and after the adverse judgment. Here Evans drops his new-found civility and goes after any and all who have had the temerity to praise Irving, or to minimize his errors. This part of the book is amusing, if only when one reflects on the amount of spite and cheek needed to sustain these argumentative assaults on the likes of Sir John Keegan and several others. Donald Cameron Watt, another distinguished British historian, and much Evans’ senior, comes in for particularly rough treatment, with several ambushes in the endnotes.

On the whole, the book contributes little that is new or interesting to anyone who followed the Irving trial with any degree of attention. It is obvious that Richard Evans has an animus against David Irving, but such animus could not sustain his expert report nor does it sustain this much shorter book. Furthermore, the title, *Lying about Hitler*, is a false indication of the book’s scope: it is not about Hitler at all, but rather David Irving. Perhaps “Lying about David Irving” would be a better indication of the book’s contents. 

“One of the peculiar sins of the twentieth century which we’ve developed to a very high level is the sin of credulity. It has been said that when human beings stop believing in God they believe in nothing. The truth is much worse: they believe in anything.”

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When it was finally published by Basic Books, it "sparked a furious controversy" (*Newsweek*). And while it became a best-seller in Europe, it was so shunned in America that it also became, in the words of *New York* magazine, "The Book They Dare Not Review."

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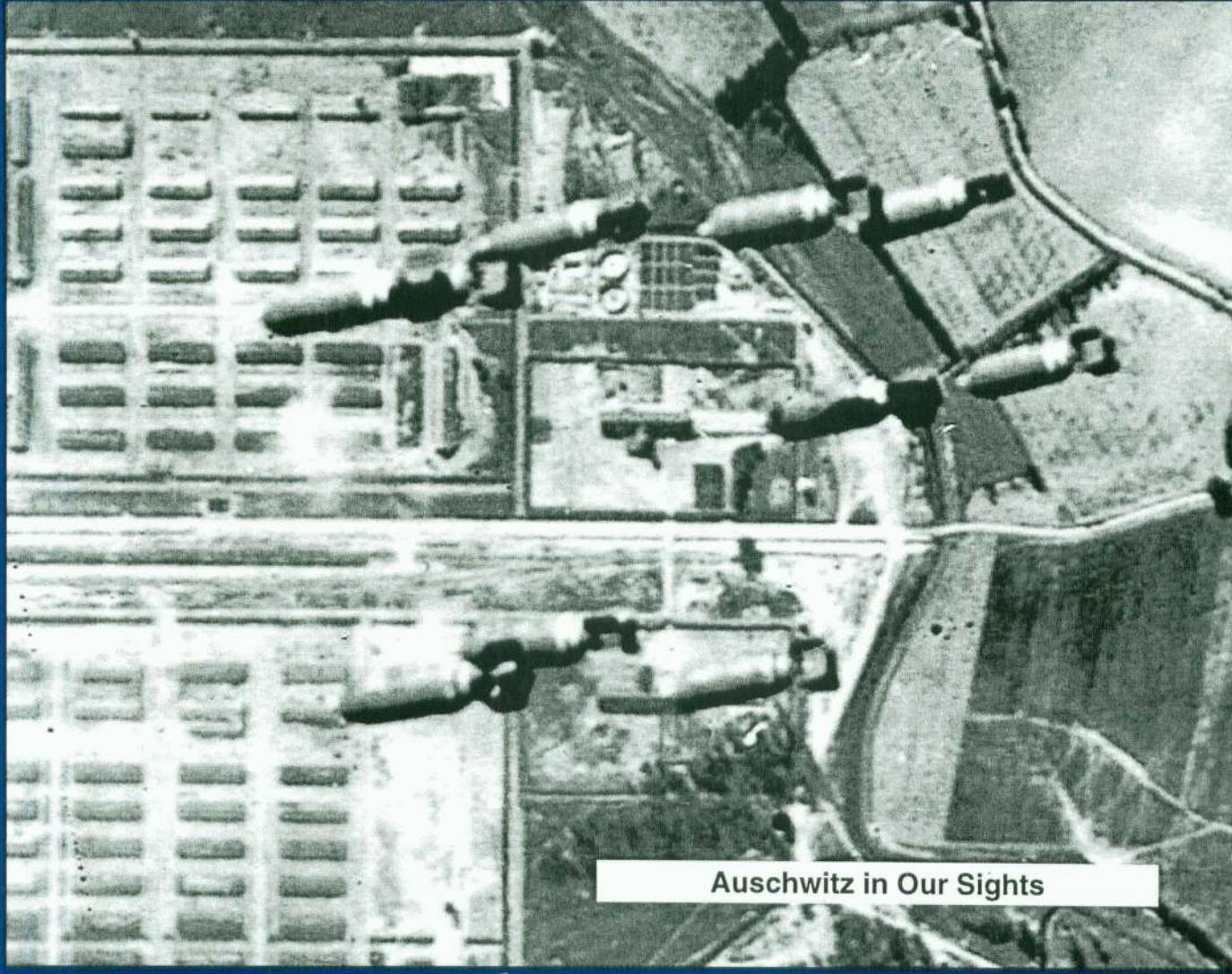
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Auschwitz in Our Sights

Forensics at Auschwitz, 1945-2001

Germar Rudolf

**Unregistered Inmates: From
Auschwitz to the Reich**

Richard Widmann

— Reviews —

**Real Showers,
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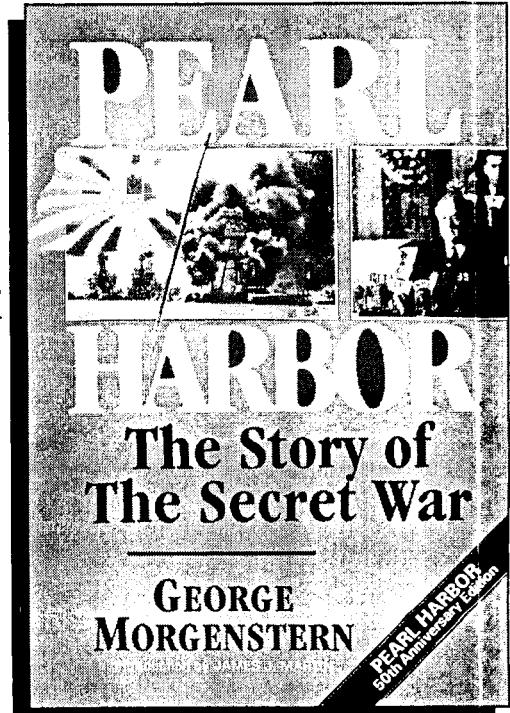
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On the Cover: Bombs released over Auschwitz by a U.S. Army Air Force B-24 Liberator on September 13, 1944. While in this photo the bombs bracket crematoria II and III in Birkenau, they were aimed at the Auschwitz industrial complex at Monowitz some three miles to the west and fell well beyond Birkenau. During this raid American ordnance killed and wounded some 300 SS personnel, Jewish inmates, and civilian workers; three B-24s were shot down by German anti-aircraft fire.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the revisionist tradition of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier, and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawable on a U.S. bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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Authoritative opinion has long held that Auschwitz is emblematic of twentieth century evil, the nexus of a high technology refined and perfected in the interest of a totalitarian regime and a fanatical ideology based on group hatred. So we are informed, with constant certitude and growing stridency, by statesmen and scholars, ecclesiastics and pundits, leaders of the left and the right, Germans and Jews.

Despite the fact that the opprobrium for the alleged extermination of more than a million Jews has steadily expanded from the Nazis to the Germans, to their wartime allies, to the neutrals, to the Catholic Church, to countries annexed or occupied by the Germans, and at last to the leadership of the Allies in the anti-German coalition, since the Second World War only the revisionists have dared ask the question: What are the facts?

This issue of the JHR is largely devoted to up-to-the minute research on the evidence for mass murder at Auschwitz. While revisionists have studied Auschwitz since the 1950s, if anything we often neglect to appreciate the insight and penetration of the pioneers who worked in the Cold War years, at a time when the Auschwitz site and the Auschwitz documents lay inaccessible behind the Iron Curtain. Working from the tiny trickle of arbitrarily selected and sometimes unreliable Auschwitz documents that had reached the West, Arthur Butz, Robert Faurisson, and their colleagues were able to lay the groundwork for the research that has followed the collapse of the Soviet system at the end of the 1980s.

Two methods are on view here. The first is forensic: it seeks to determine, from the best possible scientific and technical analysis, answers to key questions about physical evidence. Reading Germar Rudolf's scintillating overview of revisionist forensics at Auschwitz, and of the evasive, slovenly, and dishonest efforts of the official authorities there, prompts one to wonder at the incuriosity of the many millions in thrall to Auschwitz. After all, in America as elsewhere, the twentieth century was a forensic century: while adults argued over the merits of Hauptmann's ladder or Oswald's rifle or the killer's DNA in the Lindbergh, Kennedy, and Simpson cases, young people were enthralled by Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes at work over his microscope, or devoured popular literature extolling the myriad capabilities of the FBI's crime laboratory. Rudolf's essay on forensic evidence and gassing at Auschwitz, unrivaled in English for its simplicity, scope, and immediacy, is

required reading not merely for revisionists but for all who understand that forensic evidence is vital in determining guilt or innocence, at Auschwitz and elsewhere.

While the emergence of thousands of new documents from Auschwitz might seem less dramatic than the on-site forensic investigations by Rudolf and Fred Leuchter, the evidence from the archives may ultimately be more telling. Here Samuel Crowell uses an Auschwitz document unearthed by JHR advisor Carlo Mattogno in the Moscow archives to further demolish the significance of a "criminal trace" that Jean-Claude Pressac, erstwhile protege of Serge and Beate Klarsfeld, believed was the "one proof, one single proof" demanded by his former mentor, Robert Faurisson.

Both Crowell and Richard Widmann explore findings from the documents, and from secondary sources, to investigate what actually happened to the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz and elsewhere. Widmann offers, in a brilliant little essay, a thesis that links the expanding inmate population in the concentration camps of the Reich in 1944 to the numbers of Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz, but never registered as inmates there. Crowell, a fluent reader of Hungarian, uses research from post-Communist Hungary as well as more traditional sources to present an informed and rounded study of the fate of Hungarian Jewish deportees, and to conclude that whatever happened to these Jews, it was not mass extermination at Auschwitz.

This issue isn't all about Auschwitz, to be sure. IHR director Mark Weber exposes some documentary skullduggery on the part of the author of a series of alleged interviews with Gestapo commandant Heinrich Müller. Dan Michaels hails a new study of the World Jewish Congress's blackmail of Switzerland and its banks, and of the American politicians who facilitated it. And, since fictional media are increasingly shaping the public perception of history, Scott Smith signals what will be a larger focus in the JHR by reviewing a film set in Stalingrad.

The attack on the Auschwitz myth merits the last word, however. Crowell's dissection of an academic version of the foolish lamentations over America and Britain's failure, despite a dozen sorties over the camp, to target the alleged gas chambers, says all that need be said on that score. As for bombs over Birkenau, today it's we revisionists who are dropping them, on the Auschwitz legend.

Theodore J. O'Keefe

A Brief History of Forensic Examinations of Auschwitz

GERMAR RUDOLF

“Auschwitz” has come to symbolize the greatest crime in human history. The significance of the alleged murder of a million or more persons, most of them Jewish, by gassing at the German concentration camp of that name has elicited endless discussion among philosophers, theologians, and litterateurs as well as jurists and historians, and evoked numberless platitudes from journalists and politicians. The focus of this article, however, is on the following questions:

1. Should the alleged monstrous crime be subject to careful scrutiny by means of thorough forensic analysis?
2. What forensic examinations of the purported crimes scenes at Auschwitz have been conducted thus far, and with what findings? How are we to assess the results?

The Moral Obligation of Forensic Examination

In late spring 1993, the Max Planck Institute in Stuttgart issued an internal memorandum informing its employees that a doctoral candidate there had been dismissed for research he had done on Auschwitz. The

institute explained that in view of the horror of the National Socialists’ crimes against the Jews, it was morally repugnant to discuss the specific manner in which the victims had been killed, or to try to determine the precise number of the dead. That one of the world’s leading scientific research institutes stated to its personnel that to determine accurate quantities is not only unethical, but reprehensible, and cause for dismissal, is not without its own irony.

Does it really matter just how many Jews lost their lives in the German sphere of influence during the Second World War? Is it so important, after so many years, to attempt painstakingly to investigate just how they died? After all, it is surely morally correct that even one victim is one too many; and nobody seriously denies that many Jews died.

To affirm these things, however, is not to raise a valid objection — moral or otherwise — to the scientific investigation of a crime held to be unique and unparalleled in the history of mankind. Even a crime that is alleged to be uniquely reprehensible must be open to a procedure that is standard for any other crime: namely, that it can be — must be — subject to a

Germar Rudolf had completed his doctoral dissertation in chemistry while working at the renowned Max Planck Institute in Stuttgart, when publication of his forensic study of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz caused university authorities to forbid him from completing the doctorate. In 1995 Rudolf was sentenced to fourteen months in jail for authoring the Rudolf Report; in the same year all available copies of *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, a collection of up-to-date research on the Holocaust problem, were seized and destroyed by court order (the English-language version, *Dissecting the Holocaust*, can be purchased from IHR). Rudolf edits the revisionist quarterly *Vierteljahrshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung*, and is currently seeking political asylum in the United States. He has submitted a lengthy affidavit in support of David Irving’s appeal of the adverse ruling in the Lipstadt trial.

detailed material investigation. Further: whoever postulates that a crime, alleged or actual, is unique must be prepared for a uniquely thorough investigation of the alleged crime before its uniqueness is accepted as fact.

If, on the other hand, someone sought to shield so allegedly unparalleled a crime from investigation by erecting a taboo of moral outrage, the creators of that taboo would, at least morally, themselves commit a singular offense: imputing an unparalleled guilt, beyond any critique and defense, to an entire people, the Germans. To demonstrate just what kind of double standard is being applied to "the Holocaust" (the definition of which usually includes the purposeful annihilation of millions of Jews by the Third Reich), let us note the international reaction to several recent examples of "crimes against humanity." After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, numerous mass graves, containing hundreds of thousands of victims of the Soviets, were discovered and investigated. Not only was the number of victims determined, but in many cases the specific cause of death as well. In the same regions where many of these mass graves were found, one million or more Jews are said to have been shot by the Einsatzgruppen: yet no such grave has ever been reported found, let alone dug up and investigated, in the more than half a century during which these areas have been controlled by the USSR and its successor states.

During the conflict in Kosovo in 1999, rumors about mass killings by Serbs spread around the world. After the fighting was over, an international forensic commission arrived in Kosovo, searching, excavating, and forensically investigating mass graves. These graves proved to be not only fewer than the Serbs' Albanian opponents had alleged, but to contain small fractions of the numbers of victims claimed.

Did the Allies attempt, during the war and in the years immediately following, to find and to investigate mass graves of persons said to have been victims of the Germans? So far as is known, only once: at Katyn. But the findings of the Soviet forensic commission, which blamed the mass murder of several thousand Polish officers buried there on the Germans, are today generally considered a fabrication. The report of the international forensic commission invited by the Germans in 1943, on the other hand, which found that the Soviets had carried out this mass murder, is today considered accurate even by the Russian government.

A Definition of Forensic Science

Forensic science is generally seen as a supporting

science of criminology. Its aim is to collect and to identify physical remnants of a crime, and from these to draw conclusions about the victim(s), the perpetrator(s), the weapon(s), and the time and location of the crime, as well as how it was committed, if at all. This science is relatively new, and entered the courtrooms only in 1902, when fingerprint evidence was accepted, in an English court, for the first time. The 1998 CD-ROM *Encyclopaedia Britannica* writes of forensic science:

A broad range of scientific techniques is available to law enforcement agencies attempting to identify suspects or to establish beyond doubt the connection between a suspect and the crime in question. Examples include the analysis of bloodstains and traces of other body fluids (such as semen or spittle) that may indicate some of the characteristics of the offender. Fibres can be analyzed by microscopy or chemical analysis to show, for instance, that fibres found on the victim or at the scene of the crime are similar to those in the clothing of the suspect. Hair samples, and particularly skin cells attached to hair roots, can be compared chemically and genetically to those of the suspect. Many inorganic substances, such as glass, paper, and paint, can yield considerable information under microscopic or chemical analysis. Examination of a document in question may reveal it to be a forgery, on the evidence that the paper on which it is written was manufactured by a technique not available at the time to which it allegedly dates. The refractive index of even small particles of glass may be measured to show that a given item or fragment of glass was part of a particular batch manufactured at a particular time and place.

Hence, forensic research is exactly what revisionists, starting with Robert Faurisson, have called the search for material evidence. The revisionists' demand for such material evidence is entirely consistent with the normal practice of modern law enforcement. And, as is generally acknowledged, forensic evidence is more conclusive than eyewitness testimony or documentary evidence.

Forensic Science and Auschwitz

The 1946 Krakow Auschwitz Trial. In 1945, the Krakow Institute for Forensic Research (Instytut Ekspertyz Sadowych) prepared a report on a forensic investiga-

tion of Auschwitz that was submitted in evidence in the 1946 Auschwitz trial in Krakow, Poland.¹ This expert report should be treated with caution, because forensic examinations and judicial procedures under the Communists have been anything but trustworthy, and Poland was in 1945 a Stalinist satellite. One need only point to the example of Katyn, the Soviet account of which was fully endorsed by Poland's Communist regime.²

The Krakow forensic investigators took hair, presumably cut from inmates, and hair clasps from bags found by the Soviets in Auschwitz. Tested for cyanide residues, both hair and clasps showed positive results. Additionally, a zinc-plated metal cover was tested for cyanide and found to have a positive result as well. The Krakow Institute claims that this metal cover once shielded the exhaust duct of a supposed homicidal "gas chamber" at Birkenau.

The tests conducted by the institute were qualitative, not quantitative, analyses. In other words, they could only determine whether or not cyanide was present, not how much of it was there.

As to whether or not homicidal gassing with hydrogen cyanide took place in Auschwitz, these analyses are worthless, for three reasons:

1. There is no way of determining the origin and history of the hair and hair clasps obtained from bags in Auschwitz. Assuming that the analytic results are correct, from a chemical point of view the following can be noted: A positive test for cyanide in human hair proves only that the hair has been exposed to HCN (hydrogen cyanide). But that result does not suffice to establish that the persons from whom the hair came were killed by cyanide. It is a good deal more likely that the hair had already been cut when it was exposed to the gas: in German as well as Allied camps, it was standard to cut off prisoners' hair for hygienic reasons. When hair over a certain length was later recycled,³ it had to be deloused beforehand (often with Zyklon B, the active ingredient of which is hydrogen cyanide). Hence, positive cyanide results from loose hair do not prove human gassings.
2. We face a similar problem with the zinc-plated covers allegedly used to cover the ventilation ducts of the supposed "gas chambers": their exact origin and history is unknown. It would have been much preferable for the Krakow Institute to have analyzed samples from the walls of the alleged "gas chambers" instead of obtaining samples from pieces of metal:

a. Whereas the origin and history of these metal covers was uncertain, the origin and (at least partly) the history of the walls of the morgues allegedly used as "gas chambers" was known.

b. In contrast to cement and concrete, zinc-plated metal covers prevent the formation of stable iron cyanide compounds.⁴ The developing zinc cyanide compounds are relatively unstable and must be expected to vanish in a short period of time.⁵

c. The tendency of porous wall material in moist underground rooms to accumulate and to bind hydrogen cyanide, physically as well as chemically, is hundreds of times higher than that of sheet metal.

d. As a matter of fact, the letter accompanying the samples sent to the Krakow Institute actually mentions that a mortar sample allegedly taken from a so-called "gas chamber" is enclosed as well and should also be tested for cyanide. However, for unknown reasons, the Krakow Institute did not mention this mortar sample in its report, perhaps because it did not show any positive result.

3. There is no evidence that either analysis has been successfully reproduced.

The 1964-1966 Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial. Several expert reports were prepared during the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial, the best known being those of the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History).⁶ However, none of these reports was forensic in nature. They addressed legal, historical, or psychological topics. Throughout this mammoth trial, neither the court, nor the prosecution,⁷ nor the defense⁸ ever suggested that material traces of the alleged crime be secured and investigated. The prosecution had at its disposal numerous statements by eyewitnesses and confessions by perpetrators, and it considered this material entirely sufficient to establish beyond doubt the existence of a program to exterminate Jews in Auschwitz and elsewhere during the Third Reich.⁹ The abundance of such evidence has since been used to argue that the lack of documentary and material evidence was irrelevant.¹⁰ That no material evidence was presented during the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial was freely conceded by the court in its ruling:

The court lacked almost all possibilities of dis-

covery available in a normal murder trial to create a true picture of the actual event at the time of the murder. It lacked the bodies of the victims, autopsy records, expert reports on the cause of death and the time of death; it lacked any trace of the murderers, murder weapons, etc. An examination of the eyewitness testimony was only possible in rare cases. Where the slightest doubt existed or the possibility of confusion could not be excluded with certainty, the court did not evaluate the testimony of witnesses[.]

The 1972 Vienna Auschwitz Trial. Between January 18 and March 10, 1972, two architects responsible for the design and construction of the crematoria in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Walter Dejaco and Fritz Ertl, were put on trial in Vienna, Austria.¹¹ During the trial, an expert report on the possible interpretation of the blueprints of the alleged gas chambers of the Auschwitz and Birkenau crematoria was presented to the court. The report concluded that the rooms in question could not have been gas chambers, nor could they have been converted into gas chambers.¹² Thanks to this first methodologically sound expert report on Auschwitz, the defendants were acquitted.

In Search of Mass Graves. In 1966 the Auschwitz State Museum commissioned the Polish company Hydrokop to drill into the soil of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp and to analyze the samples. It is not known whether this research was done in the context of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial. The results, however, vanished into the museum's archives: they have never been released, which by itself is revealing enough. Years later, however, several pages from this report were photocopied and sent to the German revisionist publisher Udo Walendy, who published them with commentary in an issue of his periodical.¹³ Traces of bones and hair allegedly found at several places might indicate mass graves. The few pages published by Walendy, however, do not reveal whether these findings led to an excavation or a subsequent forensic study of the traces. It is not even evident whether the bone and hair samples collected are human or animal remains.

Faurisson Pulls the Trigger. It took a professor of French literature to inform the world that determining whether mass murder took place at Auschwitz is a matter for forensic evidence. Robert Faurisson, professor of French, and an analyst of documents, texts, and witness

statements at the University of Lyon 2, began to doubt the standard historical version of the Holocaust after much critical study of the eyewitness testimony and intensive scrutiny of documents said to support the claim of mass murder. Faurisson first asserted the thesis that "there was not a single gas chamber under Adolf Hitler" in 1978.¹⁴ Thereafter he buttressed his position with numerous physical, chemical, topographic, archietectonic, documentary, and historical arguments. He described the existence of the homicidal gas chambers as "radically impossible."¹⁵ At the end of 1978 *Le Monde*, the leading French newspaper, afforded Professor Faurisson the opportunity to present his thesis in an article.¹⁶

It took almost a decade, however, for the first expert to accept Faurisson's challenge and to prepare the first forensic report on the alleged homicidal "gas chambers" in Auschwitz: Fred Leuchter's now famous report of 1988.¹⁷ The background and history of the Leuchter Report are well known to readers of the *Journal of Historical Review* and need not be repeated here.¹⁸ Suffice it to say that the Leuchter Report was a pioneer work that initiated a series of publications, the scope of which broadened more and more into various fields of forensic science¹⁹ and soon encompassed many interdisciplinary studies of material and documentary evidence.²⁰

Reaction of the Jan Sehn Institute. The reaction of the Krakow Institute which had carried out the faulty 1945 investigation — by 1988 named after the Communist judge who presided during the Polish Auschwitz and Rudolf Höss trials — to the Leuchter Report has caused much confusion in revisionist circles. To this day, many believe that in 1990 four investigators from this institute corroborated the Leuchter Report,²¹ but this is quite incorrect. Clearing up the misunderstanding requires that the post-Leuchter findings of the Krakow Institute be treated in some detail.

A Short Chemical Introduction. To expose the errors of the Krakow investigators requires presenting a little basic chemistry — so basic that equations have been omitted. First of all, until 1979, Zyklon B was the German trademark for a pesticide based on hydrogen cyanide (HCN). As every student of chemistry knows, hydrogen cyanide forms salts, often simply referred to as cyanides. Like hydrogen cyanide itself, these salts are usually highly poisonous. There is one group of cyanides, however, which are not poisonous at all. The best known representatives of this group are the iron cya-



Remnants of Zyklon B, a hydrogen cyanide-based pesticide, are clearly visible even in this black and white photo of a former delousing chamber at the former German concentration camp of Majdanek, in Poland (note dark patches to the right of the door). The staining was caused by the interaction of the cyanide, used to disinfect personal effects, and iron salts present in the walls, to form the compound Prussian blue. This chamber, unlike similar delousing facilities in Auschwitz, is advertised to Majdanek visitors in five languages as a place where humans as well as insects were killed. Yet none of the existing sites at Auschwitz, in which hundreds of thousands are said to have been gassed with cyanide, shows similar staining, or has evinced more than minute traces of cyanide. (Photo of chamber 3, bathing and disinfection facility I, at the Majdanek State Museum, copyright Carlo Mattogno)

nides, especially so-called Prussian blue, a pigment discovered in Prussia a few centuries ago. Every college student of chemistry knows Prussian blue, for one of the more important things a chemist must learn is how to dispose of poisonous cyanide salts without endangering life (including one's own). One simply makes Prussian blue out of it by adding certain iron compounds. Then it can be poured down the sink in good conscience, for Prussian blue is extremely stable and releases no cyanide into the environment.

Understanding the controversy surrounding the Leuchter Report is much easier if one keeps in mind that when hydrogen cyanide and certain iron compounds come together, they form Prussian blue. That is exactly the phenomenon that one can observe when entering the Zyklon B delousing facilities that were used across Europe during the Third Reich. A few of them, for example in the Auschwitz, Birkenau, Majdanek, and Stutthof concentration camps, are still intact today. All these facilities have one thing in common: their walls are permeated with Prussian blue. Not just the inner surfaces, but the mortar between the bricks, and even the outside walls of these delousing chambers abound

in iron cyanides, exhibiting a patchy blue coloration. Nothing of the sort can be observed in the alleged homicidal "gas chambers" of Auschwitz and Birkenau.²²

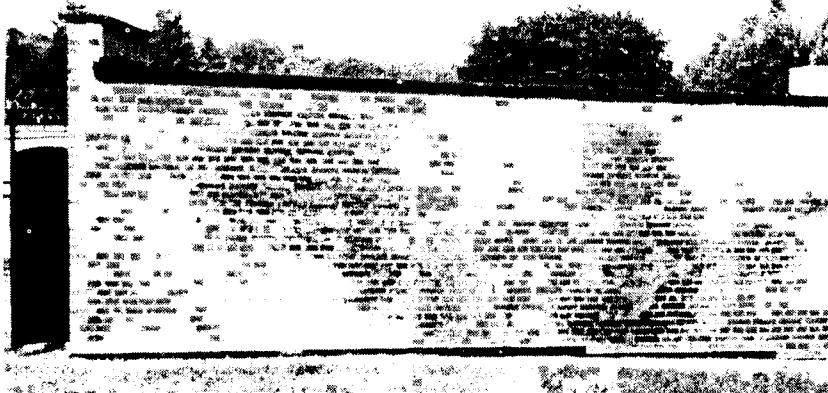
The iron compounds needed to form Prussian blue are an integral part of all building materials: bricks, sand, and cement always contain a certain amount of rust (iron oxide, usually between 1 and 4 percent). That is what gives bricks their red, or ochre, color and what makes most sands ochre, too.

Now, let's examine the way in which the investigators from the Jan Sehn Institute approached the prob-

lem of analyzing and interpreting samples from Auschwitz.

A Lack of Understanding. The team from the forensic institute, Jan Markiewicz, Wojciech Gubala, and Jerzy Labedz, claims not to have understood how it was possible for Prussian blue to have formed in walls as a result of their being exposed to hydrogen cyanide gas: "It is difficult to imagine the chemical reactions and physicochemical processes that could have led to the formation of Prussian blue in that place."²³

There is no shame in not understanding. Actually, this is the beginning of every science: the cognition of not understanding. In pre-scientific ages, humans tended to find mystical or religious answers to unsolved questions; modern scientists approach problems they don't understand, and sometimes can scarcely imagine, as challenges to investigate, in order to understand. This quest for knowledge is the chief driving force of modern humanity. Should we not expect, then, that the Krakow researchers would next have attempted to learn whether Prussian blue can be formed in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide and, if so, how?



The outer wall of a delousing chamber at the former German concentration camp at Stutthof (today Sztutowo, Poland). As with the inside walls of the delousing chamber at Majdanek, the dark patches evident are the result of Prussian blue. The stability of this compound, still present after more than half a century of exposure to the elements, disproves the exterminationist claim that the absence of similar traces of cyanide in the alleged homicidal gas chambers is due to weathering. The fact that the cyanide compound has worked its way through inches of brickwork also gives the lie to the assurance of chemist James Roth, featured in the anti-revisionist movie *Mr. Death*, that hydrogen cyanide can penetrate walls no deeper than ten microns, or roughly one tenth the width of a human hair. (Photo copyright Carlo Mattogno)

More Lack of Understanding. In 1991 Dr. Markiewicz wrote, via a mutual acquaintance, that he was unable to understand how Prussian blue could possibly form in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide. He thought that quite unlikely, and suggested that its presence might stem from a different source, for example from Prussian blue wall paint used to give the interior walls of the delousing chambers a fanciful, patchy blue coloration. (What for?, one is tempted to ask.²⁴) I suggested that he look at the outer surfaces of the walls, which are exposed to environmental influences, and which were partly patchy blue as well. Their color cannot be explained by paint, but only by cyanide compounds spreading to the outside walls over the years, and being converted to Prussian blue. He replied that these blue patches were hard to explain, and first it had to be established that they were indeed Prussian blue.²⁵ So there were even more questions to be answered before these scientists could conduct their analysis.

Disregard of Key Questions. At length, the Polish investigators published an article on their findings, in 1994.²³ Surprisingly, perusing their article reveals that they did nothing to establish whether or not Prussian blue can form in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide. Nothing indicates that they did basic research on the

behavior of cyanide compounds under conditions similar to those in brickwork. Nor did they do anything to establish whether or not the blue patches on the external walls of the delousing chambers were caused by Prussian blue. Should you wonder why, just be patient: it gets even worse.

Ignoring Peer Opinions. Had the researchers found a scientific source which stated in a reliable way that Prussian blue cannot develop in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide, that would have made things easy for them, by rendering any new research obsolete. On the other hand, if they had discovered literature claiming in a scientific way that the formation of Prussian blue in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide was possible, the scientific method would have compelled them to do either of two things: to abandon their position that Prussian blue cannot form thus, or to refute the opposing position by proving that it cannot form. That is what the scientific process is all about: verification or refutation of theses postulated by peers. Ignoring peer opinions is a strong indicator of unscientific behavior.

In fact, the Krakow researchers quoted one book that deals intensively with the question of Prussian blue formation.²⁶ On consulting it, however, one quickly realizes that it proves the exact opposite of Markiewicz's thesis. The work demonstrates in detail how, and under which circumstances, walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide can indeed form Prussian blue, and that this was not only possible but very likely, at least in the Auschwitz delousing chambers.

Do the Krakow researchers claim that this book shows the opposite? Not at all. In fact, they cite it not to refer the reader to its chemical arguments, but, instead, merely as an example of scientific studies these authors from the Jan Sehn Institute intend to combat with their report. All arguments advanced in the book are simply ignored, while the work is stigmatized as an example of "undesirable science." Let it be recalled that Dr. Markiewicz is a professor, meaning: he professes to adhere to the ideals of science and the scientific method!

Excluding the Unwanted. The authors of the Krakow study ignored all arguments proving them wrong,

although they were certainly aware of them, as they quoted them. They made no attempt to prove or to disprove their own claims. They did nothing to understand what they claimed not to have understood.

Was there a reason for their strange conduct?

The answer is very simple: The researchers wanted to exclude Prussian blue and similar iron cyanide compounds from their analyses. Excluding these compounds can only be justified on the assumption that Prussian blue in the walls of the delousing chambers must have a different origin, e.g. from paint. As the Krakow investigators wrote in their 1994 article:

We decided therefore to determine the cyanide ions using a method that does not induce the breakdown of the composed ferrum cyanide complex (this is the blue under discussion) [.]

What does this mean?

In fact, the exclusion of Prussian blue from analytical detection must result in much lower cyanide traces for the delousing chambers, as non-iron cyanide compounds are not very stable and would therefore hardly be present after fifty years. The same is true for every room ever exposed to hydrogen cyanide. In fact, values close to the detection level must be expected. These are generally so unreliable that a proper interpretation is close to impossible. It can therefore be expected that the analysis of samples tested with such a method would deliver similar results for nearly every sampling of material that is many years old. Such an analysis would make it practically impossible to distinguish between rooms massively exposed to hydrogen cyanide and those which were not: all would have a cyanide residue of close to zero.

Comparison of the order of magnitude of analyses results of different samples

Author:	Markiewicz et al. ²³	Leuchter ¹⁷	Rudolf ²⁷
Detection of:	cyanide without iron cyanides	total cyanide	total cyanide
Delousing chambers:	0-0.8 mg/kg	1,025 mg/kg	1,000-13,000 mg/kg
Alleged gas chamber:	0-0.6 mg/kg	0-8 mg/kg	0-7 mg/kg

I believe that is exactly what the researchers from the Jan Sehn Institute wanted to achieve: values for both the delousing chambers and the alleged homicidal "gas chambers" with similar levels of cyanide residues. This would allow them to state: "The same amount of cyanides, hence the same amount of gassing activity: thus, humans were gassed in the crematoria cellars. Thus, Leuchter is refuted."

The analyses results of the Krakow report showed just that, and its authors drew the requisite conclusions.

If we examine the analyses results of samples taken by different people, and obtained with different methods of analysis, it is evident that Markiewicz and his co-workers fudged their results by adjusting their method to deliver what they wanted.

If that doesn't smell like scientific fraud, well ... we aren't through with the Krakow report yet.

Suppressing Unwanted Results. In 1991, a document leaked out of the Jan Sehn Institute in Krakow into the hands of the revisionists, and was eventually published in their periodicals.²¹ It showed that Dr. Markiewicz and his co-workers had prepared a first report as early as 1990. This report was never published. Its results were discomfiting: although the researchers were already employing their deceptive analytical method, only one of the five samples taken from alleged homicidal gas chambers resulted in an extremely small amount of cyanide (0.024 mg/kg); the rest had no detectable cyanide. On the other hand, samples taken from a delousing chamber showed values up to 20 times higher (0.036-0.588 mg/kg). These results seemed to confirm Leuchter's findings. Hence, in their 1994 paper, the Krakow investigators suppressed any information about their initial results. Normally, researchers guilty of such unethical conduct are expelled from the scientific community.

Today, most revisionists are aware of the findings revealed in 1991, but not of the later ones published in 1994 that seem to refute Leuchter.

Krakow Guidelines: Not Scientific Truth, but a Political Agenda. In a subsequent correspondence with the Krakow researchers, I asked for a scientific explanation of their method of analysis. I gave them irrefutable proof that Prussian blue can be formed in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide gas, citing a recent case documented in expert literature.²⁸ The authors of the Krakow report were unable to give a scientific reason for their deliberate failure to test for Prussian blue and refused to admit that they had made a mistake.²⁹



The author taking a sample from the door jamb of a delousing chamber in building 5A at Auschwitz-Birkenau. In this case, cyanide residues from repeated use of Zyklon B combined with iron from a corroding hinge to form a particularly bright shade of Prussian blue in the wooden door frame. Under analysis, the wood proved to contain 7,150 mg/kg of cyanide.

Finally, in their article as well as in a letter to me, the Krakow researchers stated that the purpose of their paper was to refute the "Holocaust deniers" and to prevent the whitewashing of Hitler and National Socialism. In other words, their purpose was not the search for truth, but to serve a political end.

Conclusions. To summarize the extremely unscientific and politically biased approach of Markiewicz and his co-workers:

- a. The most important task of a scientist is to try to understand what hasn't been understood. The investigators from the Jan Sehn Institute for Forensic Research in Krakow did just the opposite: they chose to ignore and to exclude what they didn't understand (the formation of Prussian blue in walls exposed to hydrogen cyanide).
- b. The next important task of a scientist is to discuss other scientists' attempts to understand something. The Krakow team did just the opposite: they chose to ignore and to exclude from discussion all that might let them (and others) understand how Prussian blue can be formed.
- c. These choices allowed them to employ methods that would produce the results desired.
- d. They suppressed whichever results didn't fit their purposes.

e. Finally, they admitted that the purpose of their research was not to seek truth, but to contribute to the continued disrepute of the long defunct Adolf Hitler.

Therefore, I publicly called, and continue to call, these researchers scientific frauds. There is only one place for their research findings: the garbage. Neither Markiewicz nor his co-workers have ever responded to my accusations. Dr. Markiewicz, who was an expert in technical testing, not a chemist, died in 1997; the remaining two authors have continued to remain silent.

A German Corroboration of Leuchter. In early 1990, a few months after beginning work on my Ph.D. at the Max Planck Institute for Solid State Research in Stuttgart, Germany, I started investigations to verify the chemical claims made in the Leuchter Report: namely, that long-term stable cyanide compounds were still to be expected in the alleged homicidal gas chambers, if the mass gassings with Zyklon B took place in them as claimed by witnesses. Initially I was interested only in finding out whether the resulting compound — iron blue or Prussian blue — is stable enough to survive forty-five years of exposure to harsh environmental conditions. After this was confirmed, I mailed the results to some twenty people I thought might be interested in these results. Subsequently I got in contact with several engineers and lawyers, the former willing to help me in doing forensic research, and the latter primarily interested in using the results for their clients. I made two trips to Auschwitz and did eighteen months of further research until, in January 1992, the first, 72-page long version of the so-called Rudolf Report was distributed to opinion leaders in Germany. Briefly summarized, it corroborates Leuchter's claim that, for several technical and chemical reasons, the mass gassing attested to by witnesses could not have occurred. My report was subsequently updated and enhanced, and finally published in July 1993 as a 120-page paperback booklet.³⁰ Dutch and French versions appeared in 1995 and 1996, but an English version has never been printed. (A short 16-page summary published in summer 1993 is often mistakenly assumed to be a full version of my report.) An updated and enhanced version is currently in preparation; publication is planned for later this year.³¹

Because I can't be the judge of my own work, I will not discuss my own research here. Scientific discussion of my report began with a German book, consisting mainly of unfounded attacks, in 1995.³² The first serious critique to date, unfortunately riddled with ad hominem attacks, has appeared only on the Internet.³³ Its author, Richard Green, is, like me, a chemist with a Ph.D. thesis in physical chemistry. He has made some far-reaching concessions in his critique:

- a. In order to kill humans as quickly as attested to by the witnesses, hydrogen cyanide in concentrations similar to those used for delousing procedures is required. Leuchter was frequently attacked by his opponents on the basis that much less poison would have been required to kill humans than to kill lice. Although this is generally true, it does not apply to a scenario in which many hundreds of humans are supposed to have died from this poison within a few minutes.
- b. Iron blue (Prussian blue) can indeed be the result of exposing walls to hydrogen cyanide, and, when found in the delousing facilities in Auschwitz and elsewhere, HCN is most likely the cause.

The latter concession obviously destroys the reputation of the Krakow researchers (and their supporters), who summarily declared that the vast amount of iron blue in the walls of delousing facilities must have a different origin, which in turn "allowed" them to exclude it from analysis. Green, however, is undisturbed by this, and still claims that their results ought to be taken as standard by everybody. To my question of why the Krakow investigators had not responded to my inquiries as to their obviously unscientific behavior, Green responded as follows:

Rudolf complains that Markiewicz et al. have not responded to his queries. Why should they do so? What credibility does Rudolf have, that demands they answer his every objection no matter how ill-founded?

Other Forensic Approaches. Chemistry is obviously not the only science to be consulted when it comes to solving the mysteries of Auschwitz. Engineers, architects, physicians, geologists, and other experts can contribute to this, too. Nor does their work stop with trying to decipher the hidden messages of material traces on site. Original wartime documents on the facilities and

events in Auschwitz require the expertise of engineers, architects, physicians, and geologists as well. When it comes to reconstructing the infrastructure of the camp, down to the function and purpose of every building and every room, the technical modes of operation and capacities of its installations, the extent and modernity of the treatment in its hospitals, the effect of the water table of the swamps, most of which can be determined by analyzing the tens of thousands of documents that have been found or released during the last decade, the historian alone simply cannot do the job, nor can I as a chemist.

"No Holes? No 'Holocau\$t'!"! Ditlieb Felderer was the first to deal intensively with the question of whether or not there were holes in the roof of the alleged homicidal "gas chambers," although he seems not to have published anything about it. Leuchter touched on this topic only superficially in his report. It was this question, rather than whether or not there were still any chemical residues of the poison gas allegedly used, which made me most curious to go to Auschwitz, to search for these holes by myself. On August 16, 1991, while standing on the collapsed roof of the alleged "gas chamber" of crematorium II in Birkenau, I lost my faith in the "Holocaust," because I could find no holes that deserved the name. This I described in detail in my report. In 1994, Robert Faurisson made the famous quip that subtitled this section. Yet it was not until 2000, during David Irving's libel case against Deborah Lipstadt, that the world took notice of the revisionist allegation that no holes can be found in this roof.

Charles Provan has since written an Internet article in which he claims to have refuted this revisionist finding. He did, indeed, find holes in the roof of the morgue of crematorium II.³⁴ But are they the same holes used fifty-five years ago to introduce Zyklon B into the "gas chamber," as claimed by the witnesses? Or are they merely results of the collapsing roof being pierced by the concrete supporting pillars? I am convinced that the latter is the case. My conviction doesn't matter, however. What matters are facts. But how are we to establish facts in such a case?

According to Robert Van Pelt:

In the twenty-five hundred square feet of this one room more people lost their lives than in any other place on this planet. Five hundred thousand people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you create a geography of atrocities, this would be the absolute

centre.³⁵

Now, let us consider a somewhat different, but still tragic case. We all know what happens after an airplane crash: hundreds of experts swarm out to retrieve the debris of the accident, in order to assemble it all like a gigantic, three-dimensional jigsaw puzzle. The purpose is to determine the cause of the accident in order to prevent it from happening again. No expense is spared.

Would it not be appropriate to do the same with the morgues of crematoriums II and III in Birkenau? To assemble a staff of hundreds of historians, engineers, architects, and archaeologists to exactingly retrieve all the debris of these rooms and to reassemble them, like piecing together a huge puzzle, in order to determine what they really looked like fifty-five years ago? Would it not be logical to attempt to determine what vestiges we have to expect when looking for holes, before ecstatically jumping to conclusions at the mere sight of a crack in the concrete?

During the last few years, I have heard, to my horror, of people walking up to these rooms and breaking off reinforcement bars protruding from cracks or holes,³⁶ or taking shovels and clearing the roof of debris in order to look for holes.³⁷ What would a paleontologist say of someone who wanted to use a shovel to excavate the skeleton of a *Tyrannosaurus rex*? Sometimes one has cause to wonder: Where have all the homo sapiens gone? When will people begin to think and act about the Holocaust like wise human beings?

The question of whether or not there were holes in the roof of crematorium II is not a trivial one. If there were none, then it would have been impossible to introduce Zyklon B into the alleged “gas chamber” in the manner claimed by the witnesses — discrediting all those witnesses. Because eyewitness accounts are the sole pillar on which the Holocaust rests, this would sooner or later lead to the collapse of the entire Holocaust story. This, in turn, is no trivial matter. The international order established by the victorious powers after the Second World War rests mainly on the “given” of the Holocaust. The Holocaust is used to control Germany (and hence Europe), to suppress national movements, and to maintain American dominance — to say nothing of the power leftist and internationalist movements derive from it, and the use to which Jewish and Zionist groups put it.

Who, then, wants to know the truth? Wouldn’t it be easier to blow up the Auschwitz crematoria and remove the debris once and for all, and be content with the witness accounts?

If revisionist researchers don’t do the work of establishing what really took place in Auschwitz, nobody will. Considering our limited means and the legal restrictions placed on us, it might be only realistic to conclude that nobody ever will. Thus all we can do right now is to meticulously map and document the material remains as they are today, from top to bottom, and hope that eventually reason will prevail.

Criminal Traces? The discovery in German wartime documents of ambivalent words for which a sinister meaning can be interpreted is quite common in mainstream historiography on the Holocaust. Jean-Claude Pressac is not the first to have done so, but he is perhaps the most determined, taking it well beyond the bizarre.³⁸ The revisionist responses have been thorough and, for the exterminationists, devastating.³⁹ Revisionist interpretations have been based, on the one hand, on thorough knowledge of the documents dealing with Auschwitz — including Allied air photos — as well as their context, and on expert knowledge in various fields of engineering and architecture on the other.

Exculpatory Traces! That approach, applied to a great number of documents on Auschwitz, has yielded another, even more important result that sheds revealing light on the history of the Auschwitz camp system. Samuel Crowell has unearthed material on air raid shelters built by the SS to protect inmates from Allied air raids. Hans Lamker and Hans Nowak have shown in detail how the SS installed modern (and highly) expensive microwave delousing facilities to protect the lives of inmates.⁴⁰ Together with Michael Gärtner and Werner Rademacher, they are currently working on a comprehensive history of the Auschwitz camp, equipped with all means necessary to ensure the survival of tens of thousands of prisoners: hospitals, dentists, kitchens, laundries, butchers, as well as recreation facilities like sport fields and gardens. Together with the fact that the overall costs of erecting this camp complex were on the order of magnitude of some five hundred million dollars, these facilities clearly contradict an intention by the German authorities to use this camp as an extermination center. There are cheaper ways of killing humans than to spend 500 dollars per capita.⁴¹

The Future of Auschwitz Forensics. Since the dawn of science, scientists have sought the *perpetuum mobile*. They seem never to have noticed that they had found it at the beginning of their search: science itself. So it can be expected that forensic research about Auschwitz will

never cease, especially if one considers the controversial and highly ideological implications of any potential findings. The direction and methods of research, however, are clearly being set by the pioneers in this field, the revisionists, who lack neither the imagination nor the curiosity to discover whether the mass gassing claims of the Holocaust are true, whatever their use for political or financial purposes. The Auschwitz camp system will, as before, be at the very focus of it all.

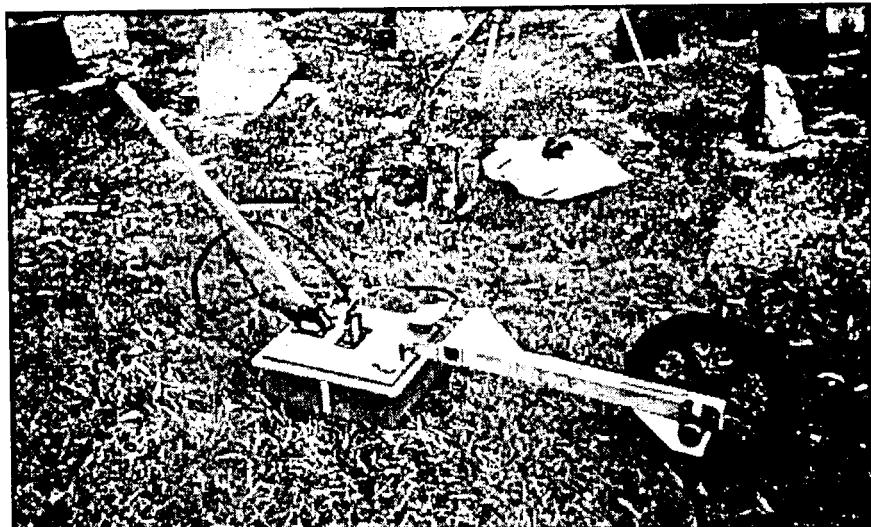
To name one recent instance, in early 2000 the Australian engineer Richard Krege employed ground penetrating radar in order to locate (or not to locate) mass graves in the vicinity of alleged German extermination camps. A preliminary study was published in my German language revisionist quarterly in early 2000.⁴²

Krege has promised more thorough investigations, together with a proper introduction into this geological method of determining disturbances in the soil beneath our feet. His work is going to break new ground, as Leuchter's work did thirteen years ago. No doubt he will not be the last pioneer to challenge reigning dogmas and taboos.

Conclusions

As they do for all alleged crimes in the historical past, the forensic sciences hold the key to the riddles of Auschwitz. No group with the power to conduct, or else to demand, forensic research on the necessary scale seems willing to do so: on the contrary. Those in power have no stake in changing our view of Auschwitz, and consequently of the Holocaust, and forensic research is liable to do exactly that. Instead, authorities the world over persecute and prosecute those who advocate or attempt such research. This may slow us down, but it will not stop us.

When revisionist researchers achieve a sudden breakthrough through forensic research, they are countered not merely with slander and persecution, but also with academic forgery and professorial deceit, of which the Krakow forensic report is so evident an example. How desperate must they be, the keepers of the flame of the Holocaust legend, to resort to such methods? By



Ground penetration radar (GPR) device used by Australian engineer Richard Krege to search for evidence of mass graves at Treblinka. GPR can detect large-scale disturbances in the soil structure to a normal effective depth of four to five meters or more, and is widely used by geologists, archeologists, and police. Soil examinations carried out over six days at Treblinka in October 1999 by Krege and his team failed to reveal any soil disturbance consistent with mass graves.

guarding the purported graves and "gas chamber" ruins of Auschwitz from scientific inquiry, they risk the burial of their own reputations, and the ruin of the Auschwitz myth. ↗

Notes

1. Published in German by the Dokumentationszentrum des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Center of the Austrian Resistance) and the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education and Culture, in *Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 36-40; the original is in the Auschwitz State Museum.
2. See F. Kadell, *Die Katyn Lüge* (Munich: Herbig, 1991).
3. Letter from the SS Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt, Oranienburg, to concentration camp commanders, August 6, 1942, IMT Document 511-USSR, cited in: *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof* (Nuremberg, 1949), pp. 553f. The letter ordered the recycling of prisoners' hair twenty centimeters or more in length.
4. Zinc prevents the formation of rust, which is required to form long-term stable iron cyanides.
5. Like earth alkaline cyanides, zinc cyanides are slowly decomposed by humidity.
6. H. Buchheim et al., *Anatomie des SS-Staates* (Freiburg: Walter, 1964).
7. Throughout his writings, Adalbert Rückerl, one of the most prominent German prosecutors in "Holocaust

- cases," dispenses with any mention of material evidence. Instead, he declares documentary evidence the best and most important form of evidence, even in the absence of material evidence for the authenticity and correctness of the documents themselves (in J. Weber, P. Steinbach, eds., *Vergangenheitsbewältigung durch Strafverfahren?* [Munich: Olzog, 1984] p. 77). Rückerl reports that it is practically impossible to find a suspect guilty solely on documentary evidence, so that, especially given the increasing time span separating alleged crimes from trial, it is almost always necessary to fall back on eyewitness testimony, even though its unreliability is clear, particularly in trials of so-called "National Socialist violent crimes" (A. Rückerl, *NS-Verbrechen vor Gericht* [Heidelberg: C. F. Müller, 1984], p. 249; Rückerl, *Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungslager im Spiegel deutscher Strafprozesse* [Munich: dtv, 1978], p. 34; Rückerl, *NS-Prozesse* [Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller, 1972], pp. 27, 29, 31.).
8. Such total naïveté, combined with legal incompetence, on behalf of the defense is best exemplified in Hans Laternser, *Die andere Seite im Auschwitzprozess 1963/65* (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1966).
 9. The most prominent advocate of this thesis is Professor Nolte, in his book *Streitpunkte* (Berlin: Propyläen, 1993), pp. 290, 293, 297.
 10. For example, the verdict of the Schwurgericht (jury court) of Frankfurt am Main stated that there was no evidence as to the crime, its victims, the murder weapon, nor even the perpetrators themselves; Ref. 50/4 Ks 2/63; cf. I. Sagel-Grande, H. H. Fuchs, C. F. Rüter, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 21 (Amsterdam: University Press, 1979), p. 434.
 11. Ref. 20 Vr 6575/72 (Hv56/72); this reference number is different from the one Robert Van Pelt quotes in his report: The Pelt Report, Irving vs. Lipstadt (Queen's Bench Division, Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London, David John Cawdell Irving ./ [1] Penguin Books Limited, [2] Deborah E. Lipstadt, Ref. 1996 I. No. 113; p. 135 n. 59: 20 Vr 3806/64 and 27 C Vr 3806/64).
 12. Personal communication from the expert, who must, for the time being, remain anonymous. See Michael Gärtner, "Vor 25 Jahren: Ein anderer Auschwitzprozess," *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsforschung* (VffG) 1, no. 1 (1997), pp. 24f. (vho.org/VffG/1997/1/Gaertner1.html)
 13. Udo Walendy, *Historische Tatsachen* 60 (Vlotho: Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, 1993), pp. 7-10.
 14. Cf. *Mémoire en défense* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980); Serge Thion, ed., *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: La Vieille Taupe, 1980) (online: aaargh.vho.org/fran/histo/SF1.html); R. Faurisson, *Écrits révisionnistes*, 4 vols., published by author, Vichy, 1999; see also Faurisson, *Es gab keine Gaskammern* (Witten: Deutscher Arbeitskreis Witten, 1978).
 15. R. Faurisson, "Le camere a gas non sono mai esistite," *Storia illustrata* 261 (1979), pp. 15-35 (online: aaargh.vho.org/fran/archFaur/RF7908xx2.html); cf. Faurisson, "The Mechanics of Gassing," *The Journal of Historical Review* (JHR) 1, no. 1 (spring 1980), pp. 23ff. (online: aaargh.vho.org/engl/FaurisArch/RF80spring.html); Faurisson, "The Gas Chambers of Auschwitz Appear to Be Physically Inconceivable," JHR 2, no. 4 (winter 1981), pp. 311ff. (online: vho.org/GB/Journals/JHR/2/4/Faurisson312-317.html)
 16. "Le problème des chambres à gaz' ou 'la rumeur d'Auschwitz,'" *Le Monde*, December 29, 1978, p. 8; see also "The 'problem of the gas chambers,'" JHR 1, no. 2 (summer 1980), pp. 103-114 (online: vho.org/jhr/v01/v01p103_Faurisson.html).
 17. F.A. Leuchter, *An Engineering Report on the Alleged Execution Gas Chambers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Majdanek, Poland*, Samisdat Publishers Ltd., Toronto 1988 (vho.org/books/leuchter/leuchter.toc.html).
 18. For Leuchter's own statement, cf. "Witch Hunt in Boston," JHR 10, no. 4 (winter 1990), pp. 453-460; "The Leuchter Report: The How and the Why," JHR 9, no. 2 (summer 1988), pp. 133-139.
 19. To name only a few of the more prominent early publications: J.-C. Pressac, *Jour J*, December 12, 1988, i-x; Pressac in: S. Shapiro, ed., *Truth Prevails: Demolishing Holocaust Denial: The End of the Leuchter Report*, (NY: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1990); W. Schuster, "Technische Unmöglichkeiten bei Pressac," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (DGG) 39, no. 2 (1991), pp. 9-13 (vho.org/D/DGG/Schuster39_2.html); Paul Grubach, "The Leuchter Report Vindicated: A Response to Jean-Claude Pressac's Critique," JHR 12, no. 2 (summer 1992), pp. 248ff. (codoh.com/gcgv/gc426v12.html); Helmut Auerbach, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, letter to Bundespräfektur, München, Oct. 10, 1989; Auerbach, November 1989, both published in U. Walendy, *Historische Tatsache* 42 (Vlotho: Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichtsforschung, 1990), pp. 32 and 34; see my technical appraisal of Auerbach's writings in Henri Roques, Günter Annthon, *Der Fall Günter Deckert* (Weinheim: DAGD/Germania Verlag, 1995), pp. 431-435 (vho.org/D/Deckert/C2.html); W. Wegner, "Keine Massenvergasungen in Auschwitz? Zur Kritik des Leuchter-Gutachtens," in U. Backes, E. Jesse, R. Zitelmann, eds., *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit* (Frankfurt: Propyläen, 1990), pp. 450-476 (vho.org/D/dsdv/Wegner.html, with interpolated critique by the present writer); on this cf. W. Häberle, "Zu Wegners Kritik am Leuchter-Gutachten," DGG 39, no. 2 (1991), pp. 13-17 (online: vho.org/D/DGG/Haeberle39_2.html); J. Bailer, "Der Leuchter-Bericht aus der Sicht eines Chemikers," in *Amoklauf gegen die Wirklichkeit*, pp. 47-52; cf. E. Gauss (alias G. Rudolf), *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1993), pp. 290-293; Gauss, "Che-

- mische Wissenschaft zur Gaskammerfrage," DGG 41, no. 2 (1993), pp. 16-24 (online: vho.org/D/DGG/Gauss41_2); J. Bailer, in B. Bailer-Galanda, W. Benz, W. Neugebauer, eds., *Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge* (Vienna: Deuticke, 1995), pp. 112-118; cf. my critique "Zur Kritik an 'Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge,'" in Herbert Verbeke, ed., *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Berchem: Vrij Historisch Onderzoek, 1996), pp. 91-108 (vho.org/D/Kardinal/Wahrheit.html); English: "Critique of 'Truth and the Auschwitz-Lie'" (online: <http://vho.org/GB/Books/cq/critique.html>); G. Wellers, "Der Leuchter-Bericht über die Gaskammern von Auschwitz," *Dachauer Hefte* 7, no. 7 (November 1991), pp. 230-241.
20. Most notably the works of the Italian historian Carlo Mattogno, the American historian Samuel Crowell, and a group of South German engineers and architects comprising Michael Gärtner, Hans Lamker, Hans Jürgen Nowak, Werner Rademacher, Gottfried Sänger. For a comprehensive list of their works, enter their names in the search tool of the revisionist online database at www.vho.org/i/a.html.
21. J. Markiewicz, W. Gubala, J. Labedz, B. Trzcinska, Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn Institute for Forensic Research, Department for Forensic Toxicology, Krakow, September 24, 1990; partly published in DGG 39, no. 2 (1991), pp. 18f. (vho.org/D/DGG/IDN39_2.html); English: "An Official Polish Report on the Auschwitz 'Gas Chambers,'" JHR 11, no. 2 (summer 1991), pp. 207-216 (vho.org/GB/Journals/JHR/11/2/IHR207-216.html).
22. It is a bit different in Majdanek and Stutthof, where rooms that unquestionably served as delousing facilities are claimed to have served as homicidal gas chambers as well. Thus we cannot make the same observation for them as for Auschwitz. However, because the prevailing opinion generally claims that high iron cyanide residues cannot be the results of homicidal gassings — for fallacious reasons unable to be discussed here — it is generally accepted by all sides in this controversy that the blue staining generally originates in the use of these rooms as delousing facilities.
23. Jan Markiewicz, Wojciech Gubala, Jerzy Labedz, "A Study of the Cyanide Compounds Content in the Walls of the Gas Chambers in the Former Auschwitz and Birkenau Concentration Camps," *Z Zagadnien Nauk Sadowych / Problems of Forensic Science* 30 (1994), pp. 17-27 (online: www2.ca.nizkor.org/ftp.cgi/orgs/polish/institute-for-forensic-research/post-leuchter.report).
24. There are no wall paints that contain Prussian blue, because Prussian blue decomposes on fresh plaster (it is unstable in alkaline environments). Thus, nobody could have painted these walls with Prussian blue.
25. Prof. Dr. Jan Sehn Institute for Forensic Research, Dept. for Forensic Toxicology, Krakow, letter to W. Wegner, undated (winter 1991/92), signature illegible, but probably Dr. Markiewicz himself, unpublished, partly quoted in: Rüdiger Kammerer, Armin Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten: Gutachten über die Bildung und Nachweisbarkeit von Cyanidverbindungen in den "Gaskammern" von Auschwitz* (London: Cromwell Press, 1993) (vho.org/D/rga/krakau.html).
26. E. Gauss (alias G. Rudolf), *Vorlesungen über Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1993); on the chemistry involved here, cf. pp. 163ff., 290-294 (vho.org/D/vuez/v3.html#v3_4 and ~/v5.html#v5_5).
27. G. Rudolf, *Das Rudolf Gutachten*, 2nd ed. (Hastings, Eng.: Castle Hill Publishers, 2001).
28. A construction damage case occurred in 1976 in Bavaria (Meeder-Wiesenfeld), when a recently plastered church was fumigated with Zyklon B. After several months the plaster was covered with blue patches formed by Prussian blue. See Günter Zimmermann, ed., *Bauschäden Sammlung*, vol. 4 (Stuttgart: Forum-Verlag, 1981), pp. 120f.; reprint in Ernst Gauss (alias G. Rudolf), ed., *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: Grabert, 1994, pp. 401ff.; (codoh.com/inter/intgrgauss.html); English: vho.org/GB/Books/dth/fndwood.html). Furthermore, every one of the delousing facilities of the former concentration camps in eastern Europe that is still standing today has developed enormous amounts of Prussian blue throughout the walls, cf. my report, note 25 above (vho.org/D/rga/prob9_22.html and following pages); Jürgen Graf, Carlo Mattogno, *KL Majdanek: Eine historische und technische Studie* (Hastings, Eng.: Castle Hill Publishers, 1998) (vho.org/D/Majdanek/MR.html); Jürgen Graf, Carlo Mattogno, *Das Konzentrationslager Stutthof und seine Funktion in der nationalsozialistischen Judenpolitik* (Hastings, Eng.: Castle Hill Publishers, 1999) (vho.org/D/Stutthof/index.html).
29. G. Rudolf, "Leuchter-Gegengutachten: Ein Wissenschaftlicher Betrug?" DGG 43, no. 1 (1995), pp. 22-26 (vho.org/D/Kardinal/Leuchter.html; Engl.: vho.org/GB/Books/cq/leuchter.html); G. Rudolf and J. Markiewicz, W. Gubala, J. Labedz, "Briefwechsel," *Sleipnir* 1, no. 3 (1995), pp. 29-33; reprinted in Verbeke, ed., *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 86-90 (online: as above).
30. Kammerer, Solms, eds., *Das Rudolf Gutachten* (vho.org/D/rga/). For background, history, and consequences of my report, see W. Schlesiger, *Der Fall Rudolf* (London: Cromwell, 1994) (online: vho.org/D/dfr/Fall.html); English: *The Rudolf Case* (vho.org/GB/Books/trc); and Verbeke, ed., *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte* (vho.org/D/Kardinal/); English: *Cardinal Questions about Contemporary History* (vho.org/GB/Books/cq/); cf. "Hunting Germar Rudolf," vho.org/Authors/RudolfCase.html.
31. This large-format, 350 pp. hardcover book may be ordered for \$30. at www.tadp.org or by writing to Theses & Dissertations Press, PO Box 64, Capshaw, AL 35742.
32. J. Bailer, in B. Bailer-Galanda, W. Benz, W. Neugebauer, eds., op. cit. (see note 19 above); see my answer to this, "Zur Kritik an 'Wahrheit und Auschwitzlüge'" / "Critique

- of Truth and the Auschwitz-Lie," in Herbert Verbeke, ed., *Kardinalfragen zur Zeitgeschichte*. Even less sophisticated: B. Clair, "Revisionistische Gutachten," VffG 1, no. 2 (1997), pp. 102-104 (vho.org/VffG/1997/2/Clair2.html); my answer: "Zur Kritik am Rudolf Gutachten," ibid., pp. 104-108 (vho.org/VffG/1997/2/RudGut2.html); further, La Vieille Taupe/Pierre Guillaume, "Rudolf Gutachten: 'Psychopathologisch und Gefährlich': Über die Psychopathologie einer Erklärung," VffG 1, no. 4 (1997), pp. 224f. (vho.org/VffG/1997/4/Guillaume4.html). Robert Van Pelt did not discuss my report, but preferred to repeat and aggravate Pressac's errors: op. cit. (see note 11 above); cf. G. Rudolf, "Gutachter und Urteilsschelte," VffG 4, no. 1 (2000), pp. 33-50 (vho.org/VffG/2000/1/Rudolf33-50.html); more exhaustively, in English, vho.org/GB/c/GR/RudolfOnVanPelt.html and .../CritiqueGray.html.
33. Richard J. Green, "The Chemistry of Auschwitz," May 10, 1998, holocaust-history.org/auschwitz/chemistry/, und "Leuchter, Rudolf and the Iron Blues," March 25, 1998, holocaust-history.org/auschwitz/chemistry/blue/, with considerable proselytizing "anti-fascist" bias. A detailed description of the deficiencies of the paper appeared in "Das Rudolf Gutachten in der Kritik, Teil 2," VffG 3, no. 1 (1999), pp. 77-82 (vho.org/VffG/1999/1/RudDas3.html); English.: "Some Considerations about the 'Gas Chambers' of Auschwitz and Birkenau," vho.org/GB/Contributions/Green.html; for the response see: Richard J. Green, Jamie McCarthy, "Chemistry is Not the Science," May 2, 1999, holocaust-history.org/auschwitz/chemistry/not-the-science/. About 50 percent of the article consists of political accusations and vilification. For a response, see G. Rudolf, "Character Assassin," online: vho.org/GB/Contributions/CharacterAssassins.html.
34. Charles D. Provan, "No Holes? No Holocaust?: A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller I of Krematorium 2 at Birkenau" (www.revisingrevisionism.com)
35. Van Pelt's testimony in Errol Morris's documentary film *Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr.*
36. As did at least one revisionist, in spring 1996, on the roof of morgue 1 of crematorium II.
37. As did an engineer named Barford; his colleagues are assisting in the conservation and restoration of the camp for the Auschwitz Museum administration. He informed David Irving of this.
38. Jean-Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (NY: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989); *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz: la Machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993).
39. For criticisms of Pressac's first book, see R. Faurisson, JHR 11, no. 1 (spring 1991), p. 25ff.; JHR 11, no. 2 (1991), p. 133ff. (French: www.lebensraum.org/english/04.adobe.faurisson/pressac.pdf); F. A. Leuchter, *The Fourth Leuchter Report* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1991) (www.zundelsite.org/english/leuchter/report4/leuchter4.toc.html); for a criticism of Pressac's second book see: Herbert Verbeke, ed., *Auschwitz: Nackte Fakten* (Berchem: VHO, 1995), pp. 101-162 (online: vho.org/D/anf/; English: *Auschwitz: Plain Facts*, vho.org/GB/Books/anf; for a criticism of the principles underlying Pressac's methodology, see G. Rudolf, "Gutachten über die Frage der Wissenschaftlichkeit der Bücher Auschwitz: *Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* und *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz. la Machinerie du meurtre de masse* von Jean-Claude Pressac," in Schlesiger, *Der Fall Rudolf* (vho.org/D/dfr/Fall.html#Gutachten); English: see vho.org/GB/Books/trc#expert-report; see also Pierre Guillaume's criticism, *De la misère intellectuelle en milieu universitaire*, B.p. 9805, 75224 Paris cedex 05, 1995 (aaargh.vho.org/fran/archVT/vt9309xx1.html). See also S. Crowell's various writings and Mattogno's responses to them, referenced at www.vho.org/i/a.html, as well as the upcoming English version of my report, which will include a summary of this topic.
40. H. Nowak, "Kurzwellen-Entlausungsanlagen in Auschwitz," VffG 2, no. 2 (1998), pp. 87-105; English version in Gauss, ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, AL: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2000), pp. 311-324; H. Lamker, "Die Kurzwellen-Entlausungsanlagen in Auschwitz, Teil 2," VffG 2, no. 4 (1998), pp. 261-273; see also Mark Weber, "High Frequency Delousing Facilities at Auschwitz," JHR 18, no. 3 (May-June 1999), pp. 4-12.
41. W. Rademacher, M. Gärtner, "Berichte zum KL Auschwitz," VffG 4, no. 3-4 (2000), pp. 330-344.
42. R. Krege, "Vernichtungslager Treblinka — archäologisch betrachtet," VffG 4, no. 1 (2000), pp. 62-64.

The Basement Showers of Crematorium III

SAMUEL CROWELL

Well before the Second World War ended, the claim that the Nazis lured their victims into gas chambers under the pretense that they were entering showers was widely reported in the press. This linkage of showers and gassing is probably one reason why Allied soldiers, finding naked bodies in the camps, simply assumed that these were gassing victims, although we now know that typhus victims were stripped after death in order to burn the clothing and destroy the typhus-bearing lice.

Nonetheless the linkage of showers and gas chambers enabled Jean-Claude Pressac to argue, in his 1989 book, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, that an inventory sheet in the transfer documents from the building office to the camp administration which listed "14 shower heads" [Brausen] for one of the basement rooms of crematorium III at Birkenau proved that that crematorium had housed a gas chamber. Pressac assumed the shower heads were fake, but, as Robert Faurisson was perhaps the first to note, that was simply presumptuous: the inventory specified "shower heads," not "fake showers."

Pressac offered another document regarding showers in crematorium III in *Auschwitz*. This was a telegram dated May 14, 1943, from Karl Bischoff, the head of the Auschwitz Central Construction Office, to Kurt Prüfer, the head engineer for Topf & Sons, which built the crematorium ovens and sought to provide other products to the camp as well. It reads:

Bring Monday [May 17] rough plan for production of hot water for about 100 showers. Fitting of heating coils or boiler in the waste incinerator at present under construction crem. III or system using the high temperatures of the flue gases. It would be possible to raise the brick-work of the furnace to take a large tank. Herr Prüfer is requested to bring the relevant drawings on Monday 15/5. Sig. Bischoff

The standard explanation of this document has been that the SS planned to install showers after they had completed their program of gassing and burning their enemies. As Carlo Mattogno has argued, however, this does not very well explain why the telegram is marked "Urgent" (dringend).

Pressac's commentary on this document is worth quoting:

In this telegram, Jährling requested the urgent study of an installation to obtain hot water from the waste incinerator of Krematorium III, then under construction, to supply about one hundred showers (probably to be located in an annex building built on the southern wall of the Krematorium). Prüfer was supposed to bring the relevant drawings with him on the 17th of May. [This plan was never implemented, although such installations were built in other

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camps, for example in the crematorium of K L Natzweiler (Struthof) where the incinerator was the main source of heat for the showers.] Although this request for a hot water system for a hundred NORMAL showers was in no way criminal, it was recorded in the Krematorium III worksite 30a, file under the heading “SONDERMASSN [AHMEN] / SPECIAL MEASURES” because the building was connected with these measures, the killing and cremation of Jews unfit for work.” [emphases in original]

This interpretation is incorrect in all respects. The telegram to Topf & Sons is part of a longer report, in four parts, that is contained in the Auschwitz Central Construction Office files, now archived in Moscow.

The report commences with a cover letter from Bischoff to Kammler which begins:

Auschwitz, am 16.5.1943

Bftgb. [correspondence number] 28 941/43/Eg/
Lm Betr. [re]: Sondermassnahme für die Ver-
besserung der hygienischen Einrichtungen im
KGL-Auschwitz

In English: “Special Measure for the Improvement of Hygiene at the POW Camp Auschwitz,” that is, Birkenau.

The text of the letter begins: “Attached hereto is a report on the measures carried out to date for the improvement of the hygienic facilities in the POW camp.”

There follows a two-page report that is headed: “Report on measures completed for the implementation of the special program ordered by the SS-Brigadeführer and Major General of the Waffen-SS, Dr. Ing. Kammler”

The report dates the particular special program to May 12, 1943, and lists seven categories of activity, including work on the sewage treatment plant, cutting the King’s Ditch (Königsgraben, the main drainage ditch at Birkenau) through to the Vistula, work on the lavatories (Abortbaracken), washing barracks, and so on.

The sixth listing is particularly relevant:

Disinfection Station

For the disinfection of the prisoners’ clothing in the several parts of BA [Bauabschnitt: i.e., Birkenau sector — ed.] II an Organization Todt disinfection station is envisioned. In order to achieve a complete bodily delousing for the

prisoners, both of the existing baths for prisoners in BA I will be equipped with hot water heaters and boilers, so that there will be hot water for the existing showers. It is further planned to run heating pipes from the incinerator at crematorium III, to be used for the water in the showers to be set up in one of the basements of crematorium III.

The report is dated May 16, 1943, as is the covering letter. Next, we have a copy of the telegram sent to Prüfer, dated May 14, 1943, supplementing the previous report.

Finally, we have a further three-page report, dated May 13, 1943, which details the job assignments for the “special measures,” now referred to as an “emergency program” (Sofortprogramm). Paragraph 9 reads as follows:

Civilian worker Jährling is to carry out the construction of the hot water heaters and boilers in the washing barracks, as well as the showers in the undressing room of crematorium III. SS-Sturmbannführer Bischoff still needs to talk to the camp commandant, SS-Obersturmbannführer Höss, about the showers. For the delousing ovens the SS-WVHA has still to send an Organization Todt drawing.

Note that Bischoff refers to himself in the third person here: because this letter comes three days before the report of May 16, we feel it is safe to conclude that Bischoff had authorization from Höss by that time. Mattozzo has added a few more points to the question whether or not the showers under discussion were fake or genuine, by referring to two more documents strongly suggesting that they were genuine indeed:

On June 5, 1942, Topf sent Drawing D60446 to the Zentralbauleitung “regarding the installation of the boilers in the rubbish incinerator.” This project also involved the installations for crematorium II. In an undated “questionnaire” apparently written in June 1943 regarding the Birkenau crematoriums, in answer to the question “Are the exhaust gases utilized?,” the head of the Zentralbauleitung, Bischoff, responded: “Planned but not carried out,” and in response to the following question: “If yes, to what purpose?,” Bischoff answered, “for bath facilities in crematorium II and III.”¹

On the basis of the above report, which is put into

This document (BW 30/43, p. 24, in the files of the Auschwitz State Museum) is alleged by researcher Jean-Claude Pressac to have contained "criminal traces" of homicidal gassing at crematorium III in Auschwitz-Birkenau. It is in fact an inventory of plumbing and electrical fixtures in the crematorium as of June 24, 1943, the date the Auschwitz camp administration took over the crematorium from the camp construction office. The inventory includes fourteen shower heads (14 Brausen), but mentions nothing of the "dummy" shower heads that Pressac alleges it evidences. Surely evil has never been so banal.

context thanks to the work of Mattogno, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1) The fourteen shower heads mentioned in the June 24, 1943 transfer documents for crematorium III were genuine.

To support the argument that the fourteen shower heads in the transfer documents were fake, it would be necessary to conclude that real showers were planned, but then a month later were replaced with fake ones. Indeed, the traditional narrative holds that morgue 1 of crematorium II had been used for two months before this report to gas people in a room equipped with fake shower heads. Because crematorium III was supposed to have a comparable function, it would mean that morgue 1 of crematorium III was originally meant to have fake showers, then real ones, and then fake ones again. This is not believable.

2) "Undressing rooms" are meant in the ordinary mortuary sense, not in any special sense.
Bischoff originally suggested the location of the showers in an undressing room, which means that the

room was understood to be an undressing room before the showers were contemplated. This can only mean that the word "undressing room" is being used in an ordinary mortuary sense, that is, as a space where bodies are cleaned and prepared before burial, or in this

case, cremation.

3) The implementation of hygienic measures took precedence over any other alleged purposes for the crematorium cellars.

The traditional narrative holds that the crematori-

ums were built to destroy the traces of persons who would be murdered in the cellars with poison gas. But the report leaves no doubt that, for the sake of camp hygiene, this undocumented, allegedly intended purpose of the crematoriums was going to be suspended so that the camp population could take hot showers.

4) The crematoriums were going to be used to provide ad hoc hygienic measures, before the completion of the Central Sauna (BW 32, which was opened at the beginning of 1944), and possibly at times of high traffic thereafter.

In this case, at minimum, it was intended to use the basement spaces of crematorium III to provide ad hoc showers for the camp population, and it is known that fourteen showers were installed. We note again that Mattogno has cited documents from June 1943 which indicate that the water for the showers was not heated in the manner Bischoff envisioned in this report, and that the plans for installing showers covered both crematoria II and III. This suggests that the fourteen showers in morgue 1 were not heated, or were heated by other means. Mattogno's data also suggest that crematorium II may also have been equipped with showers at this time, or even before. The fact that showers were not mentioned on the transfer documents for crematorium II could be explained by the fact that the showers were not originally planned for these structures, but were improvised. In addition, while crematorium III was handed over to the camp authorities in late June, that is, after Bischoff's report, crematorium II was officially transferred to the camp authorities at the end of March 1943, so any inventory document of that time could simply not include items added afterwards.

5) Bischoff's telegram to Prüfer was overly ambitious and probably deliberately so.

The overall thrust of the report is that Bischoff wished to reassure Kammler that, despite the delays in construction, work was proceeding energetically to solve all the issues related to camp hygiene. Our surmise is that showers never could have been installed, but it made an impressive figure to report to Kammler, by way of a copy of the telegram to Prüfer. It also appears that Bischoff seemed to waver on the location: one hundred showers would make most sense in the largest morgue (morgue 2, the "undressing room"). But in the end a smaller number of showers was installed in the smaller morgue. The modest number of showers actually installed could also be explained by the failure to exploit the high volume source of thermal energy that the incinerator would have provided.

6) The dual use of the crematoria for hygienic purposes may have included the installation of ad hoc disinfection stations.

The apparent plan to temporarily install Topf hot air delousing facilities in crematorium II fits with the fact that showers were actually installed at the same period of time. Facing tremendous hygienic problems, the camp authorities obviously attempted to convert the basements of the crematoria into a hygiene center with inmate showers and delousing facilities for their clothes.

In sum, the Bischoff report of May 16, 1943, settles

once and for all the question of whether or not the showers in crematorium III were real. It also strongly supports the idea that the crematoria were equipped with temporary delousing and disinfection facilities in the spring of 1943, which revisionists have argued for years. The revelations in the Bischoff report also clearly contradict the idea that these same basements were used to gas thousands of prisoners or that the crematoria were built for the purpose of exterminating the camp population. 

Notes

1. Mattogno's documents concerning the possible use of hot air delousing facilities and showers in the crematoria are described in "Leichenkeller von Birkenau: Luftschräume oder Entwesungskammern," in *Vierteljahreshefte für freie Geschichtsschreibung* 4, no. 2 (2000), pp. 152-158.

Transfers to the Reich

The Unregistered Inmates of Auschwitz

RICHARD A. WIDMANN

Orthodox historians of the Holocaust have long maintained that most Jews who arrived at Auschwitz, and were not soon registered as inmates there, met a quick end in the gas chambers. Typical of the prevailing view is the opinion of Yisrael Gutman, chairman of Yad Vashem's Academic Committee, that "more than one million Jews were murdered in the gas chambers [of Auschwitz] on arrival and their bodies incinerated in the camp's crematoriums without the victims ever being registered."¹

Revisionist scholars have long disputed the claim that Auschwitz arrivals who were not registered as inmates were sent immediately (or any time thereafter) to the gas chambers. Lately, Swiss researcher Jürgen Graf has addressed the matter in this journal.² Similarly, Germar Rudolf has recently challenged Wolfgang Benz and Serge Klarsfeld on the fate of unregistered detainees of Auschwitz.³

Interestingly, a number of orthodox historians of the Holocaust have also advanced alternative explanations of the fate of unregistered Auschwitz detainees. Shmuel Krakowski, the chief archivist of Yad Vashem, Israel's national memorial to the Holocaust, states:

The Germans did not register the prisoners who were sent to quarantine; nor did they com-

pile statistical data on the number of prisoners sent there. Those who were transferred to other concentration camps were not registered, either. Only those prisoners who were selected for work in the Auschwitz satellite camps were registered and tattooed with Auschwitz concentration camp numbers.⁴

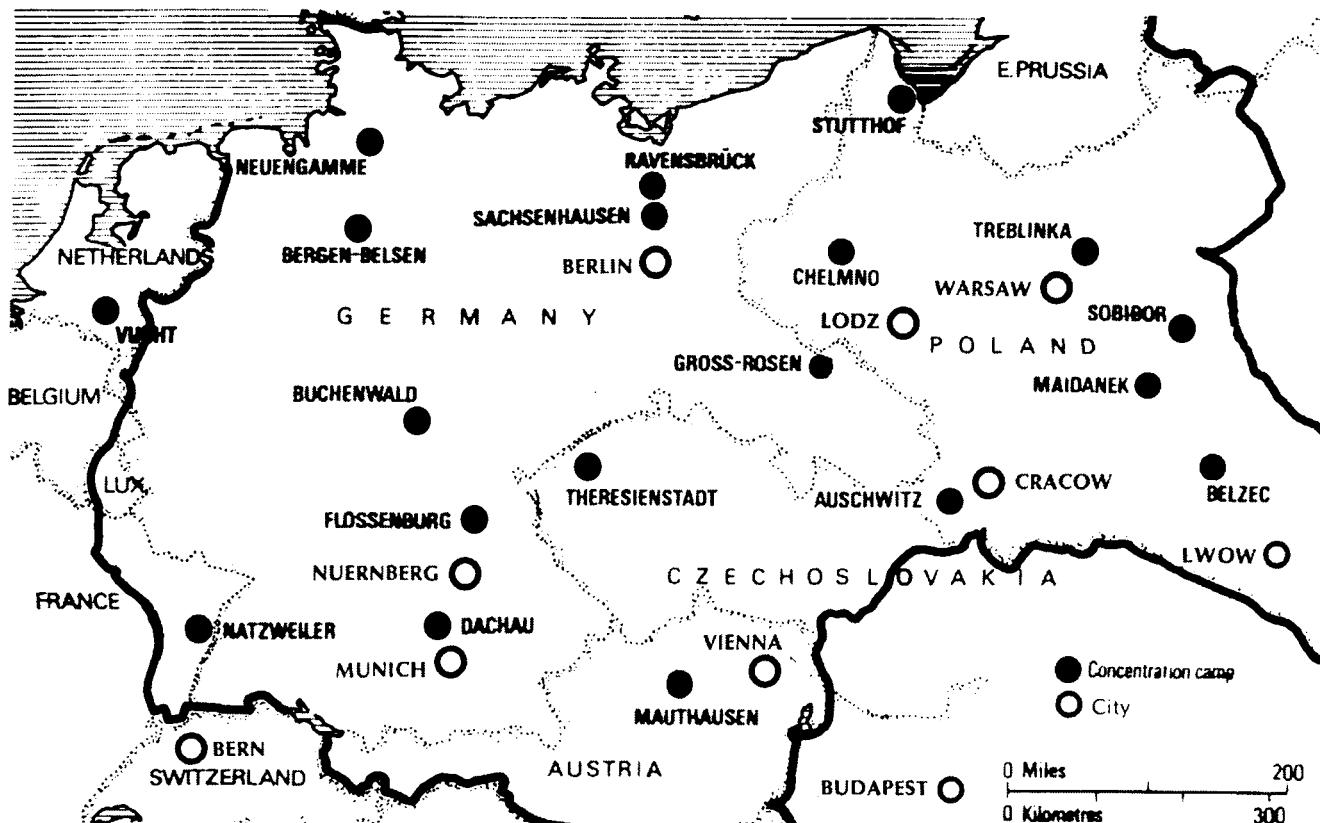
Danuta Czech, former head of the research department of the Auschwitz Museum, explains,

The separate section of Camp B-IIe for unregistered male and female Jews, Camp B-IIc, and Section B-III (Mexico) are referred to in camp documents as the so-called Auschwitz II Transit Camp. The female Jews without numbers are referred to in the camp records as "transit Jews."⁵

Holocaust historian Gerald Reitlinger, author of *The Final Solution*, has also noted that "... very large groups of Jews in 1944 stayed in the camp without registration, awaiting transfer elsewhere, and they stayed long enough to die of epidemics."⁶ The issue is really not whether unregistered inmates were transferred elsewhere but rather just *how many* were transferred.

Given the gaps in the available documentary record,

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The chief concentration camps on the territory of the Greater German Reich. By mid-1944, most of these camps, including Auschwitz, controlled dozens of sub-camps, in which inmates worked in manufacturing, mining, agriculture, and other types of industry.

computing the numbers of unregistered transferees is not a simple operation. Studying the inmate population statistics from the records of the concentration camp system, however, allows a strong inference as to the numbers and origins of transfers to Reich camps in 1944. The numbers of registered inmates for the entire concentration camp system during the years of Auschwitz's existence are known. Analyzing the data for all camps, we find that the system averaged around 100,000 inmates in 1941 and 1942. By August of 1943, the numbers had doubled to 220,000. They continued to rise, reaching 520,000 by August of 1944. In January 1945, when Auschwitz was abandoned, the population of the concentration camp system was recorded as 710,000 inmates.⁷ Among the camp population statistics for Auschwitz alone are: August 1943, 74,000; August 1944, 105,168; January 1945, 67,000.⁸

In the period from 1944 to 1945, when the entire camp system population grew dramatically (five to seven times the 1942 population), large numbers of inmates were being transferred from the east to the west. Initially, these transferees were non-Jewish:

Declaration of the Reich territory as "Judenfrei" precluded the transfer of Jewish Auschwitz prisoners to camps inside Germany. Since the prohibition did not apply to non-Jewish prisoners, many non-Jews, especially Poles, were moved to camps in the German interior.⁹

This situation would change by the spring of 1944, when large numbers of Jews were transferred to concentration camps in the Reich. Dr. Franciszek Piper, head of the Department of Historical Research at the Auschwitz Museum, has acknowledged that "The subsequent lifting of the prohibition [of sending Jews to the Reich] in the spring of 1944 marked the onset of mass transfers of manpower surpluses into the Reich. A new category of prisoners was established. These prisoners were not assigned serial numbers."¹⁰ It is from this time, the spring of 1944, that Auschwitz "became the center for the distribution of Jewish labor for the entire network of concentration camps."¹¹

Arno Mayer noted, in his analysis of the "final solution," that while huge numbers of Jews were being delivered to Auschwitz-Birkenau:

... thousands of others were being shipped out by train to camps in Germany, including Buchenwald, Dachau, Flossenbürg, and Sachsenhausen. These evacuations were part of the frantic effort to remove valuable labor and incriminating evidence from the path of the Red Army. During the second half of 1944 about 400,000 foreigners were forcibly taken to Germany, most of them from the east and a large number of them Jews.¹²

We know as well that at this time Hermann Göring and Albert Speer, desperate to increase the output of fighter planes, proposed a plan to build an impregnable underground factory at Auschwitz. On April 7, 1944, Hitler offered to urge Heinrich Himmler to help procure the necessary manpower by impressing 100,000 Hungarian Jews. On May 11, Himmler notified Oswald Pohl, who was responsible for administering the concentration camp system, that Hitler had ordered 10,000 Waffen-SS troops be detached "to guard the 200,000 Jews ... [about] to be transferred to the Reich's concentration camps for assignment to large construction projects of the Todt Organization or to other essential war work."¹³

A notable indicator of the policy of transfers to the west is the case of famous diarist Anne Frank. Anne Frank and her family were deported to Auschwitz on September 5, 1944. Anne and her sister Margot were transferred from the transit camp in Auschwitz II to Bergen-Belsen on October 28, 1944, along with some 1,300 other female Jews.¹⁴ It is worth considering that during this span of seven weeks that the Frank sisters were transferred from the Netherlands all the way to Auschwitz on the Polish border, only to be sent nearly all the way back, to Bergen-Belsen, two or three hours from the Dutch border.

As stressed in recent articles by Graf and Arthur Butz, the deportations of Hungarian Jews are an extremely important element of the extermination thesis. The transfer of Hungary's Jews represents the largest single group to be deported in 1944. We now know that while some of the Hungarian Jews were retained to work in Auschwitz itself, large numbers were dispersed to over 386 camps, the great majority of these in the concentration camp system within the German Reich.¹⁵ The largest groups were sent to Bergen-Belsen, Buchenwald, Dachau, Gross Rosen, Gunskirchen, Mauthausen, Neuengamme, Ravensbrück, and Sachsenhausen.¹⁶

In this connection it is perhaps worth reminding

that, by the summer of 1944, the alleged extermination centers in the east (excluding Auschwitz) were no longer in operation (see table 1). Auschwitz had become, in Franciszek Piper's words, "a center for distribution of Jewish labor." It is also clear, as Shmuel Krakowski concedes, that Jews sent to other concentration camps via Auschwitz were not registered as they awaited transfer from Auschwitz. It is thus safe to say that many Jews who were deported to Auschwitz were never registered until their arrival in the western camps.

Table 1. Duration of operation
of six alleged "extermination camps"

Camp	Beginning Date	Ending Date
Belzec	December 1941	December 1942
Chelmno	December 1941	March 1943
Treblinka	July 1942	August 1943
Sobibor	May 1942	October 1943
Majdanek	November 1941	July 1944
Auschwitz	June 1940	January 1945

At this time, we shall accept, as a provisional figure for the unregistered inmates of Auschwitz (disregarding his estimation of their fate), the figures offered by Reitlinger. Reitlinger claims "550,000 to 600,000 may have been gassed on arrival."¹⁷ We find that Jean-Claude Pressac corroborates this estimate; Pressac suggests that 630,000 victims were gassed.¹⁸ We shall assume the higher of these estimates and analyze Pressac's figure of 630,000 unaccounted for at Auschwitz.

If we return to the camp system statistics, we find that, by assuming the 630,000 unaccounted-for inmates of Auschwitz arrived evenly throughout the months of April 1944 through January 1945, we arrive at an average number of 70,000 ($630,000 \div 9$) transferees per month. Clearly some portion of these transferees died en route to their destination camps in the west. A precise estimate of the number who died in this fashion is difficult to determine. In some cases, trainloads arrived without any casualties. In other cases, the numbers were significant. If we assume that on average 1 percent of the transferees died en route to their final destination, that leaves 623,700 ($630,000 - 6,300$) transferees from Auschwitz still unaccounted for.

Looking at the camp system population statistics,

we know that 280,000 inmates were registered in April of 1944. We know that in August of 1943 the total system death rate was 2.09 percent.¹⁹ An analysis of the number of prisoners who died at Dachau shows no major increases in the number of casualties until July 1944. The numbers jump again in November of 1944 and remain high throughout 1945.²⁰ Attempting to model this pattern, I have applied a conjectured death rate starting at 2 percent in April of 1944 and increasing to 5 percent by January of 1945. Using these statistics, we arrive at a total camp system population of 707,949 by the end of January 1945 ($280,000 + (630,000 - 6300) - 195,751$) (see table 2). Recall that the total camp population reached 710,000 in January of 1945.

The statistics bear out that 630,000 transferees can be and in all probability were absorbed into the overall camp statistics. As Jews and others were being trans-

ferred to Auschwitz, many were held as unregistered detainees. By May 1944, large numbers of unregistered inmates were being transferred back into the Reich.

Clearly the extermination thesis is not the only possible solution to the question of the fate of unregistered prisoners at Auschwitz. Indeed, it seems much more likely, based on the statistics of the camp system and the above analysis, that unregistered arrivals at Auschwitz were deported or transferred to other camps. While a large number of these transferees died in those camps, their deaths there were for the most part recorded and have long been accounted for in the official literature. Thanks to the faulty methods of the official historians, there has resulted a double counting of these victims: once as unregistered "victims" at Auschwitz, and once at the camps in the Reich, where many deportees actually perished. 

Table 2. Actual Concentration Camp System Population Statistics, in Light of Assumed Transfers of Unregistered Inmates from Auschwitz

Month	Start	Pop. Transfers	Deaths en route	Total Pop.	Death Rate	Total Deaths	End Pop.
Apr	280,000	70,000	700	349,300	.02	6,986	342,314
May	342,314	70,000	700	411,614	.02	8,232	403,382
Jun	403,382	70,000	700	472,682	.02	9,454	463,228
Jul	463,228	70,000	700	532,528	.03	15,976	516,552
Aug	516,552	70,000	700	585,852	.03	17,576	568,277
Sep	568,277	70,000	700	637,577	.03	19,127	618,449
Oct	618,449	70,000	700	687,749	.03	20,632	667,117
Nov	667,117	70,000	700	736,417	.04	29,457	706,960
Dec	706,960	70,000	700	776,260	.04	31,050	745,210
Jan	745,210	745,210	.05	37,260	707,949
Total	...	630,000	6,300	195,751			707,949

Notes

1. Y. Gutman, "Auschwitz — An Overview," in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (AADC) (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 7.
2. J. Graf, "What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz But Were Not Registered There?," *Journal of Historical Review* (JHR) 19, no. 4 (July/August 2000), pp. 4-18.

3. G. Rudolf, "Holocaust Victims: A Statistical Analysis," in E. Gauss, ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, AL: Theses & Dissertations Press, 2000), pp. 189-190.
4. S. Krakowski, "The Satellite Camps," in AADC, p.52.
5. D. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle 1939-1945* (NY: Henry Holt, 1997) p. 564.
6. G. Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Jason Aronson, 1987), p. 460.
7. A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?* (NY: Pan-

- theon, 1990), p. 336.
8. F. Piper, "The System of Prisoner Exploitation," in AADC, p. 39.
 9. Ibid., p. 47.
 10. Ibid.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens ...?*, p. 424.
 13. Ibid., p. 375.
 14. Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle* ..., pp. 702, 741. Czech notes that October 28 is "probably" the date of the Franks' transfer to Bergen-Belsen.
 15. R. Braham, "Hungarian Jews," in AADC, p. 466.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Reitlinger, *Final Solution*, pp. 460-61.
 18. J.-C. Pressac, *Les crématoires d'Auschwitz: la machinerie du meurtre de masse* (Paris: CNRS, 1993), p. 148.
 19. J. Cobden, *Dachau: Reality and Myth* (Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1994), p. 5; P. Berben, *Dachau: 1933-45, The Official History* (London: Norfolk, 1975), pp. 94 -95.
 20. Cobden, p. 4.; Berben, p. 281.

Beyond Auschwitz

New Light on the Fate of the Hungarian Jews

SAMUEL CROWELL

According to the standard anti-revisionist history of the Holocaust, from May to July of 1944 approximately 430,000 Jews from wartime Hungary were deported to Auschwitz, and about ninety percent of them immediately selected out, gassed, and burned. Most of the remainder were held as “transport Jews” (*Durchgangsjuden*) until their transfer to other camps.¹ The support for this version derives from several contemporaneous sources in Hungary that indicate the deportation of about 430,000 Hungarian Jews in May-July 1944; from evidence that some Hungarian Jews were registered at Auschwitz that summer, and, as usual, a number of rather implausible eyewitness testimonies and postwar confessions.

While the above is the standard story, it is important to note that in recent years even traditional Holocaust scholars have shown that they are not completely comfortable with it.

For example, Jean-Claude Pressac, in an early edition of his second book on the crematoriums at Auschwitz (1993), argued that the number of “transport Jews” was 118,000, that is, 27 percent, rather than 10 percent, of the 430,000 deported, and in a later edition of the book argued that only between 160,000 and 240,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz at all.² Robert Jan Van Pelt, in his expert opinion for the defense in the Irving v. Lipstadt trial, indicated his discomfort with the standard calculations, but pointedly dismissed Pressac’s revisions. Van Pelt further claimed that the current numbers for the disposition of Hungar-

ian Jews at Auschwitz — both arrivals and those allegedly killed — were accurate within a range of about ten percent.³

In our view, the fact that Pressac, as probably the leading anti-revisionist student of Auschwitz, should have so much trouble establishing precise figures for the Hungarian Jews only goes to show how slender is the evidence which upholds the traditional narrative. No less an authority than Istvan Deak, a leading expert on Hungarian history, has recently written: “Let me note here that statistical data on such things as the number of Second Army soldiers and forced laborers, or the casualties they suffered, or the number of Hungarian Jews gassed at Auschwitz, or the total number of Jewish dead, are not much better than guesses. There exists no reliable information on these subjects.”⁴

There have been two revisionist responses to the general claim of a massive Hungarian Jewish extermination. The first, articulated by Professor Arthur R. Butz in his 1976 book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, is that the documentation is so slender that no revisionist is bound to accept it.⁵ In addition, Professor Butz has suggested that there may have been some manipulation of the documentary record.

The other response, recently made by Jürgen Graf, and responded to by Professor Butz,⁶ is that the number of Jews deported is probably correct, but that they were widely distributed in the concentration camps. Graf’s thesis rests largely on his discovery, along with Carlo Mattogno, of records of the passage of some thousands

of Hungarian Jewish women through the concentration camp of Stutthof, near Danzig. The data further indicate that some of them had earlier been in Riga, Latvia and Kovno, Lithuania. All three locations, of course, are far beyond Auschwitz. Graf also appeared emboldened by a comment of Pressac that Hungarian Jews could be found in some 386 camps.⁷

Describing the fate of the Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz is difficult, for reasons which will be discussed below. Nevertheless, in our own research we have been surprised to find a number of approaches, and types of data, which, we believe, suggest a provisional solution. In this article, we simply want to elaborate and expand on what we consider to be the main questions concerning the Hungarian Jewish deportations, to provide some generally unused data, and to point to how the question might be ultimately settled.

The main questions seem to us to be the following: How many Hungarian Jews were deported? How many were deported to Auschwitz? After arriving at Auschwitz, to what other places were they sent? To what purpose? Is there evidence concerning Hungarian Jews that specifically contradicts the extermination claim? How many of these deportees survived the war?

The scope of the deportations

The claim that 430,000 Hungarian Jews were deported derives principally from a series of telegrams to the German Foreign Office prepared by Edmund Veesenmayer, a German bureaucrat who worked with the Hungarian government. The telegrams, issued every few days, list the number of Jews that had been deported as of that date. The telegrams do not, however, indicate specific destinations, other than that they were being sent to "the Reich." The numbers in Veesenmayer's telegrams are more or less corroborated by notes by Ferenczy, an official of the Hungarian police, or gendarmerie, as well as by the recently discovered lists of an attorney in Kosice, a Slovakian town on the main rail spur through which the trains would have traveled to Auschwitz.⁸

The support these documents provide for a deportation on the scale alleged is not particularly compelling. First of all, we have reason to believe that Veesenmayer and Ferenczy both received their numbers from the same source: namely, the Hungarian gendarmerie. In essence, then, this evidence consists of two bureaucrats who are simply repeating information obtained from someone else, which means their numbers do not independently corroborate each other. Instead, the

proper focus should be the accuracy of the original gendarmerie data.

Second, none of the evidence moves much beyond giving us numbers of deportees. We lack the kind of layered documentation such a massive movement of people would entail: railway records, memos about delays, shortages of guards or fuel, complaints about the timetable, emergencies and their resolution, and so on. It must also be said that the lists of the Hungarian attorney, which surfaced only in 1988, are not much better on detail than Veesenmayer and Ferenczy, and furthermore offer an unlikely scenario: that the trains stopped in the Slovakian town of Kosice for accurate headcounts before proceeding, that the attorney and his friend carefully recorded the date, place of origin, and numbers for each transport, and then, apparently, forgot about them for over forty years.⁹

Still, if we accept that the deportation lists are generally accurate, an interesting statistic emerges: only about 150,000 of the deportees come from inside the boundaries of Hungary as determined by the Treaty of Trianon in 1919 and, later, after the Second World War. The rest of the deportees, including 150,000 from Transylvania, and 85,000 from Sub-Carpathia, come from areas that, while traditionally part of the Kingdom of Hungary, were under Hungarian control after Trianon only from 1938 to 1945. In other words, if the deportations were on the scale alleged, they still would have affected only about a third of the Jews of interwar or postwar Hungary, that is, about 150,000 out of a total population of 450,000. This might help explain the well-known comment of the Red Cross in its postwar report, which describes 100,000 Hungarian Jews fleeing to Budapest from the provinces in November of 1944.¹⁰

In our judgment, there are certainly good reasons to question the suitability or even the veracity of the evidence offered for the deportations. The Veesenmayer and Ferenczy data represent high-level documents with no underlying support. Meanwhile, the notes of the Hungarian attorney at Kosice present an unlikely scenario, were discovered late, and, given the highly charged and partisan nature of this topic, are bound to be viewed with suspicion.

Still, we are inclined to believe that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported in the summer of 1944. The reason lies in three data points that we have for the population of the German concentration camp system. The first, developed by Richard Widmann in an interesting statistical study,¹¹ is that the total population of the German concentration camp system in April 1944 was 280,000.

The second data point, a well-known telegram by Wilhelm Burger, indicates that by the beginning of August that population had swelled to 524,286.¹² The third data point, a letter from Himmler dated February 20, 1945, but evidently based on data from the end of January, indicates 700,000 prisoners in the camp system, exclusive of Auschwitz and Monowitz, and including 28,000 prisoners over the age of 50, and 5,000 over the age of 60.¹³

It follows that the growth of the German concentration camp system tracks fairly closely the influx of large numbers of Hungarian Jews, and other Jews, who would have been entering the camp system via Auschwitz at this time. However, we should keep in mind that to the extent that the Veesenmayer-Ferenczy statistics are inaccurate, any other calculations will be skewed accordingly.

To Auschwitz or Elsewhere?

Assuming that there was a general plan to deport all of the Hungarian Jews to Auschwitz, for whatever reason, we can expect that there would have been exceptions to the rule. In his writings, the father of Holocaust Revisionism, Paul Rassinier, provided an example:¹⁴

Once again, my personal testimony: I refer to a group of Hungarian Jews whose convoy, originally bound for Auschwitz, had arrived at Dora at the end of May 1944. Of the 1,500 or so people of this convoy, a certain number were sent to satellite camps around Dora as soon as they arrived. How many remained with us, I do not know; maybe they filled an entire block ... After a little while, the special surveillance over them became hardly more than a facade: once in a while we could exchange a few words with them, and even have short conversations. Thus it was that we learned about their odyssey. They told us about what they had had to leave behind when they came into the camp, and, since we were old hands in their eyes, they asked if they would get it back, when, how, and so on. They had been transported from Hungary to Dora, 70 to 80 persons in a car, with all of their baggage. They had made a long periplus of six to seven days before arriving. They had been told when leaving that they were being taken to Auschwitz, and when they learned that it was at Dora that they would be unloaded, they were pleased. They told the most appalling things

about Auschwitz. There were neither women nor children among them. The latter had been separated out on departure, and at the moment it did not surprise us since that is what happened to us.

Of course, as eyewitness testimony or hearsay, we cannot give too much weight to Rassinier's observation. But, as with all eyewitness testimony, it can in many cases give us an inkling of what might have occurred, not only in this case, but in others. The one detail that appears most striking is the claim that the women and children were separated out before departure: this reminds us that the Hungarian Jews were incarcerated in ghettos, and that these ghettos could have been the source of all kinds of numbers that would be reported by the Hungarian gendarmerie to Budapest. The second point is that the separating out of the women and children would seem to violate the whole purpose of the deportations, if that purpose was mass murder.

Strangely enough, a personal letter written just after the war was over, and which is posted on an anti-revisionist site, supports Rassinier's account.¹⁵ Recently translated from Hungarian, the eleven-page letter describes in great detail the experiences of a Hungarian woman during the deportations in late June 1944. On the appointed day, the Jews were gathered in a synagogue, the women to age twelve were inspected for pregnancy, and then, over the course of some ten days, they passed through a series of staging areas by truck and train until they ended up in Szeged. There, the Germans demanded a list of those Jews under the age of twelve and over the age of fifty: to the horror of the woman writing the account, her parents, in-laws, and four-year-old daughter were all placed on the list. Again according to her account, the woman managed to place herself on the list with the rest of her family, so as to share their fate. The rest of the letter describes the journey of the woman with her family to Strasshof, outside Vienna, and to Bergen-Belsen toward the end of the war. The only fatality described is the death of the woman's mother-in-law, apparently from typhus, a few days after the war was over.

Naturally, when we consider that the source of this letter is a website very hostile to revisionism, we are inclined to be skeptical of this account, and would prefer to see the letter authenticated. Nevertheless, we consider the account probably true. Moreover, there is independent corroboration: in the last days of June 1944, over 20,000 Hungarian Jews were sent to the Strasshof camp, including 5,200 from Szeged, which

would have been the transport the woman described.¹⁶

To sum up, it is clear that there were significant numbers of Hungarian Jewish deportees who were not sent to Auschwitz. Moreover, the selecting out of those incapable of work appears to have taken place at least in certain areas and at certain times throughout the course of the deportations, and that the deportations themselves involved the confinement and transfer of the Hungarian Jews in several different locations within Hungary. This last circumstance could also have contributed to inaccurate statistics.

After Auschwitz

Those who argue for the massive gassing and burning of the Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz usually claim that there are no significant records of Hungarian Jews sent from Auschwitz to anywhere else, and rest their case on the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, compiled by Danuta Czech, a Polish Communist.

Most of Czech's data consists of various lists of prisoners who were registered in the camp, in various number sequences. It is assumed, of course, that most of those registered were ultimately gassed themselves, and it is furthermore assumed that any quantity of registrations presupposes a much larger quantity gassed without registration. Thus, for example, we might read that on a certain date one hundred Jews were selected from an RSHA transport from Hungary and assigned a range of inmate numbers, and that the rest were taken to the gas chambers. Such an entry might appear authoritative, but in fact usually the only source material at Czech's disposal is a list of the prisoners (in this case, one hundred) who were registered on the day in question. In short, we have no way of knowing how many Hungarian Jews were in fact sent to Auschwitz. Even so, Czech's statistics do indicate that some 26,000 Hungarian Jews were registered in the camp between May and early September 1944 (usually in the "A" series), and that another 25,000 were transferred to other camps, including 20,000 in May, June, and early July alone, usually in packets of 1,000 or more, and usually to Buchenwald and Mauthausen. The combined total, some 50,000, is the general upper bound of Hungarian Jews not exterminated on arrival.¹⁷

Yet Czech's data are glaringly incomplete. The German historian Isabell Sprenger's history of the Gross Rosen concentration camp lists in an appendix a chronology of all known transports to that location.¹⁸ For May 16-17, 1944, that is, at the very beginning of the Hungarian deportations, we find reference to a trans-

port of 1,500 Hungarian Jews arriving at Gross Rosen from Auschwitz. There is no record of this transport in Czech. Another transport, from May 24, lists 3,189 Hungarian Jews arriving in Gross Rosen from Auschwitz. This is not properly recorded by Czech. Still another, on June 8, records the arrival of 4,000 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz. Again, Czech makes no mention of this transport, and, in fact, mentions no numbers for Gross Rosen at all until the fall, where a transport of 200 Hungarian Jews to Gross Rosen is recorded for September 19.

It is a certainty that the initial transport of May 16-17 was not registered at Auschwitz, indeed, it is likely that the prisoners were not even debarked from their train before being sent on. So this is not a question of double-counting. However, the fact that 1,500 Hungarian Jews would be sent to a non-extermination camp after passing through a camp supposedly designed for their extermination, and in the very first transports, strongly contradicts the assertion that the Hungarian Jewish deportations ever had mass murder as their aim. Furthermore, in reviewing the incoming transports for only one camp, out of some twenty main concentration camps, and several hundred satellite camps, we have already accounted for almost 10,000 Hungarian Jews, who would normally be assumed to have been gassed and burned at Auschwitz. This points up the serious unreliability of the *Auschwitz Chronicle* as a source for accurate statistics.

Indeed, other sources for other camps provide further missing Hungarian Jews. For example, the records of Mauthausen indicate a shipment of 2,000 Hungarian Jews from Auschwitz on May 28, 1944, which also is not recorded by Czech.¹⁹ Of course, Czech also fails to record the Hungarian Jews in Riga, Kovno, or Stutthof discovered by Graf and Mattogno.

The overall approach of attempting to quantify the Hungarian Jews outside of Auschwitz would entail locating all the camps where Hungarian Jews were sent, gathering data, and then analyzing the results. For lack of time and resources, we can only make a few observations in this area. To begin with, the 386 camp figure that Graf cites from Pressac almost certainly derives from a passing comment made by Randolph Braham in his lengthy *Politics of Genocide*, later repeated in an article in *Auschwitz: Anatomy of a Death Camp*.²⁰ The source of Braham's figure, cited in the first book, is an appendix to a study on Hungarian forced labor by the Hungarian historian Szabolcs Szita, which has not been translated from Hungarian. Consulting Szita's book ourselves, we find that it contains not just a list of 386

camps, but rather of over 520 locations where Hungarian Jews were held, including seventeen main concentration camps, hundreds of their satellites, and over a hundred other kinds of camps in which Hungarian Jews were imprisoned.²¹

Some of the satellite camps in Szita's list are well known and have been the subject of special studies in English, for example, the story of the thousand or so Hungarian women sent to the Hessisch Lichtenau sub-camp of Buchenwald in order to work in an explosives factory.²² Of greater interest are those locations listed that are not affiliated with any concentration camp, for example, Unterlüß near Hannover, or Moerfelde-Walldorf near Frankfurt. Van Pelt indicated that large numbers of Hungarian women worked at Unterlüß,²³ which was a subsidiary camp of Rheinmetall, while news reports inform us that 1,700 Hungarian Jewish women labored at Moerfelde-Walldorf building an air-strip for the construction firm Zueblin, after having been transferred from Auschwitz in May.²⁴ Again, neither of these locations appears to be mentioned in the *Auschwitz Chronicle*. The fact that significant numbers of Hungarian Jews eventually were assigned outside the concentration camp system makes the numbers for Hungarian Jews derived from records of the growth of the concentration camp prisoner population seem underestimates of their actual numbers in the Reich.

Turning to the Baltics, we find that Szita has Hungarians listed in several concentration camps and labor camps throughout the region, including Kovno, Klooga, Riga-Kaiserwald, Stutthof, and several sub-camps. According to Andrew Ezergailis, author of *The Holocaust in Latvia*, one of these sub-camps, at Dundaga, employed between two to five thousand Hungarian Jewish women who had been transferred from Auschwitz from May 1944 on.²⁵

Overall, by following up on the data gathered by Szita and other historians of Hungarian forced labor, we find that there was a very wide distribution of Hungarians throughout the German areas of influence very soon after the deportations began. In many cases, the Hungarians at these other camps are described as having been sent from Auschwitz. It may be presumption in some cases to claim that these Hungarian Jews passed through Auschwitz, yet it seems clear that the deportations of Hungarian Jews were very extensive. This is indicated not only by the fact that Hungarian Jews were distributed to so many different locations, but also because it was typical to dispatch concentration camp inmates for labor in packets of 500 to 1,000.²⁶

The Purpose of the Deportations

The idea that the Hungarian Jews were deported simply for the purpose of killing them would seem to be a strategy contrary to the interests of the German Reich, which, by May 1944, was fighting for its life. It seems therefore reasonable to argue, as many have done, that the deportations of the Hungarian Jews are simply not credible given the priorities of the war, transport and otherwise.

Yet, if we consult the documents and the various public declarations of the time, we find unanimity about the desperate need for labor for a variety of war-related programs, and specifically for the kind of labor that the Hungarian Jews would provide. These include the remarks of Himmler, referencing the planned influx of 200,000 Hungarian Jews for labor purposes, the specific authorization of Hitler to allow these intakes, and records of the various conflicts among the various agencies desperate for labor.²⁷ Among these projects were the construction of large concrete bunkers for Speer's Organization Todt, the assembly of V-2 rockets for the V-weapon campaign, the construction of defensive barriers on the eastern frontier of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the construction of fighter planes for the Luftwaffe, and many other war-related projects.²⁸ These needs alone, vital to Germany's war effort, could have allowed for the prioritization of Hungarian Jewish transports of considerable size.

On the other hand, if forced labor was the purpose of the deportations, that does not very well explain the reason why considerable numbers of women, children, and the elderly also appear to have been deported. Part of this appears traceable to conflicts with the Hungarian government. We should keep in mind that many Hungarian Jewish men wore the uniform of the Hungarian Labor Service, and, while discriminated against, tens of thousands of them lost their lives serving their country, which was, after all, Germany's ally in the war against the Soviet Union. It also appears that the Labor Service underwent significant expansion at the time of the deportations, and that thousands more Hungarian men avoided deportation in this manner.²⁹ (This too may have contributed to statistical inconsistencies.) These drafts of Hungarian Jewish men help explain why the Germans were initially surprised to be receiving so many women, and others incapable of work. Still, it is known that Himmler and Oswald Pohl, chief of the concentration camp system, soon found a way to integrate the Hungarian women into the German war economy.³⁰

But what of those Hungarians incapable of work? No doubt interned because of the unjust suspicion that they, as Jews, would foment rebellion before the advancing Red Army, there is plenty of evidence that they were not exterminated as a matter of course. We have seen, for example, Himmler's reference to over 30,000 concentration camp inmates outside of Auschwitz over the age of fifty: it is a certainty that the vast majority would be Jewish prisoners, and probably included many incarcerated at Theresienstadt. At Theresienstadt itself, we find a record of 1,150 Hungarian Jews, apparently transferred from Auschwitz, and by definition non-workers: twelve had died by the end of the war.³¹ We can also find records of Hungarian Jews incapable of work — by definition, including children and the elderly — at Bergen Belsen, where there were at least two camps for Hungarian Jews, and at Buchenwald, which had a block set aside for over a thousand children of various nationalities. Even at Auschwitz itself, as Graf has noted, significant numbers of children and elderly were liberated by the Red Army, including Hungarian Jewish children mentioned by name. This is the proper context for the famous photograph showing a group of smiling Hungarian Jewish women, liberated at Dachau with their newborn babies on their laps.

Calculating the Survivors

The final question one can pose about the Hungarian Jews deported in the summer of 1944 is the most difficult to answer, because, as we have seen, there is some uncertainty about the accuracy of the numbers of the deportations.

The first thing we have to recognize is that the losses of Hungarian Jews are usually calculated globally: that is, the problem is looked at in terms of the overall losses of the Hungarian Jewish community, but not in terms of how many survived the summer 1944 deportations. Indeed, the latter question is never addressed in detail. At the same time, there are several categories of Hungarian Jewish losses related to the war or to the deportations of fall 1944 that have nothing to do with the deportations to Auschwitz, and the combined totals are hard to analyze. There is a canonical number of Hungarian Jewish victims of the Holocaust, but instead of six million it is six hundred thousand, generally rounded up from about 560,000. The ultimate source of this number is calculations of the World Jewish Congress made in 1945 and 1946.³²

The statistics concerning Hungarian Jews have been extensively analyzed over the past decade by the Hun-

garian historian Tamas Stark. There are three main aspects of Stark's analysis. First, he is wary of official statistics, knowing full well their potential political import, and so tries to compare them with any other known sources. Second, Stark tries to address the gaps in the statistical record by itemizing the many reasons for Hungarian Jews not to have returned home, or to have been unable to do so, after the Second World War. Third, Stark is the only expert in this field to stress the fact that after the war large numbers of Hungarians indeed did not return home, but instead emigrated to other countries.

Stark's work has exposed him to some criticism, and perhaps because of this he has revised his calculations. Originally, he estimated the total loss of life for Hungarian Jews at 390,000, but in a recent study he has raised that number to about 500,000.³³ The point, as far as our analysis is concerned, however, is that any increase in the number of Hungarian survivors generally increases the number of Hungarian Jews who survived the summer 1944 deportations.

To put it another way: it is generally conceded that about 500,000 Hungarian Jews were deported in 1944: these include the assumed 430,000 deported May through July, and another 50,000 or more deported to the Austrian border in the fall.³⁴ Of this number, it is universally conceded that about 100,000-120,000 returned from deportation. Assuming a proportional split, this means that about 20 percent of the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz returned home.³⁵

Yet Stark points out that there were reasons not to return home, and, if returning home, not to declare one's Jewish identity. First, there was the psychological dread of returning home and failing to find one's family.³⁶ Second, there was the fact that the Red Army typically seized Hungarian Jewish men and dragged them off to forced labor in the Soviet Union (Stark estimates that 30,000 Hungarian Jews went from one dictatorial system to the other: they were never heard from again).³⁷ Third, Hungarian Jews were on a path of heavy assimilation even before the war, and there would be little reason for many to return to the community after the war, especially in view of the severe persecution Jews had just endured.³⁸ Yet precisely such a failure to be counted in the Jewish community in the postwar period would have contributed to artificially low numbers of returnees. The World Jewish Congress, after all, was interested in determining the size of Jewish communities, not in counting Jews by racial criteria as was the case under the Nazi, Horthy, or Arrow Cross regimes.

In the absence of reliable statistics, Stark did considerable research in contemporary newspapers and other periodicals, noting especially references to Hungarian Jews who remained in Germany or in other countries and who did not return. His research suggests that a considerable number, perhaps as many as 100,000 or more, remained outside of Hungary and made their homes elsewhere.³⁹ It is by settling on a conservative figure of 50,000 that Stark arrives at his overall figure of approximately 500,000 Jewish deaths among the Hungarian population in the Second World War.

However, Stark's calculation essentially increases the number of those Hungarian Jews who survived the summer 1944 deportations by 50,000 as well, which in turn means that over one third survived. If his higher estimate of 100,000 Hungarian expatriates is used, that percentage rises to over 45 percent. With such numbers, one cannot sustain the contention that the Hungarian Jews were deported in the summer of 1944 with the intention of exterminating them.

Conclusions

The issue of the fate of the Hungarian Jews deported to Auschwitz has long dominated Holocaust studies, because the deportations took place in the midst of a large-scale media campaign in which the Allies and several Zionist groups protested the deportations even before they began.⁴⁰

Although the current narrative continues to hold that vast numbers of Hungarian Jews were gassed and burned at Auschwitz, the evidence we have consulted contradicts that notion. Specifically, we can now provisionally answer the questions with which we began.

It appears that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz. These included Jews of all ages and conditions. However, it seems likely that the figures quoted — 430,000 — could well be inaccurate, if only because these figures might have derived from one of the early stages of the deportation process before the deportations beyond Hungary's borders actually took place. Perhaps some tens of thousands were not deported beyond their staging areas; perhaps, too, some thousands of Hungarian men were drafted into the labor service from these areas. It is further possible that some thousands or tens of thousands managed to escape, at least temporarily, to Romania. It is interesting to quote Adolf Eichmann in this regard:⁴¹

All told, we succeeded in processing about half a million Jews in Hungary. I once knew the

exact number that we shipped to Auschwitz, but today I can only estimate that it was around 350,000 in a period of about four months. But, contrary to legend, the majority of the deportees were not gassed at all but put to work in munitions plants. That is why there are thousands of Jews happily alive today who are included in the statistical totals of the "liquidated." Besides those we sent to Auschwitz, there were thousands and thousands who fled, some secretly, some with our connivance. It was child's play for a Jew to reach relative safety in Rumania if he could muster the few pengö to pay for a railroad ticket or an auto ride to the border. There were also 200,000 Jews left in a huge ghetto when the Russians arrived, and thousands more waiting to emigrate illegally to Palestine or simply hiding out from the Hungarian gendarmerie.

If the number of deportees was appreciably lower than 430,000, and if they managed to remain in the provinces, or in nearby Romania, that would help explain where the 100,000 Jews came from who fled to Budapest in November of 1944. Incidentally, Stark also discusses this flight, which he claims took place from Sub-Carpathia and Transylvania, that is, areas supposedly cleared out by the May-July deportations.⁴² Yet, if the number of deportees was 350,000, as Eichmann claims, or even lower, as Pressac has argued, there still would be ideological reasons to suppress such data. As the controversy over Stark suggests, the Hungarians are as committed to the number of six hundred thousand Hungarian Jewish victims almost as much as Holocaust historians are committed to the six million statistic.

Whatever the number, the Hungarian Jews, from the moment they began arriving at Auschwitz, were sent to other camps: Gross Rosen, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, Stutthof, and hundreds of other camps. This influx of Hungarian Jews into the concentration camp system directly tracks the statistical growth of the concentration camp system as a whole. Nor should we forget that by being sub-contracted to private firms, it seems likely that some thousands of Hungarian Jews would never have appeared on the concentration camp rolls at all. At the same time, our analysis indicates that there are yawning gaps in the canonical record of comings and goings at Auschwitz.

The Hungarian Jews deported to these various other camps were involved in labor that was of critical importance to Germany's war effort and moreover

there was considerable competition for their services. It is not believable that any Hungarian Jew capable of work would have been exterminated.

Nor is it believable, on the basis of the data reviewed, to assert that Hungarian Jews incapable of work were automatically killed. While the saving of Hungarian Jewish lives is usually explained by the intercession of this or that saintly diplomat or businessman, there is no easy way to get around the fact that there were significant numbers of Hungarians who did not work in several camps, and who survived the war. This is not to deny the idea that some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews *could* have been killed: it simply means that the known exceptions are varied enough that the thesis of an extermination policy, let alone an extermination plan, is decisively undercut. Nor should we forget the survival rates implied by Stark's analyses, suggesting that 35 percent to 45 percent of the 430,000 deported survived the war.

But what of the missing Hungarian Jews who apparently did not survive? What happened to them, if they were not exterminated? The question brings us back to the statistical measurements of returnees, and émigrés, measured by Stark in the range of 150,000 to 200,000 or more, versus the canonical statistic of 430,000 deportees, or lower estimates of 350,000 by Eichmann and 160,000 to 240,000 by Pressac. Using Stark's low estimate of returns and emigrations, along with Pressac's low estimate of deportations, we could arrive at a death rate among the May-July deportees of about ten thousand, which strikes us as absurdly low.

We have to remind ourselves that there were many ways for people to die in the closing months of the Second World War, and not just in the concentration camps. Disease no doubt played a large role, as we know that tens of thousands of camp prisoners died in the last months of the war and even after from various epidemics, tuberculosis, and above all, typhus. Nor can we ignore the high death rate in the concentration camp system overall, brought on by poor nourishment and overwork in a psychologically debilitating atmosphere, a death rate that was always high but which reached catastrophic levels in 1945. Combined with Allied bombings, Soviet ship sinkings, and random shootings by panicked soldiers or SS, we could easily account for most of the missing Hungarian Jews, even if we set that number at 150,000 or more.

Still, we cannot exclude the possibility that some number were killed at Auschwitz, although, bearing in mind the many other dangers Hungarian Jews would encounter during the war, and the estimated numbers

of returnees and émigrés, that number could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most. Here we have to keep in mind the iron rule imposed by the limits of the Birkenau crematoriums. Rather than saying that 90 percent of the Hungarian deportees died at Auschwitz, it should be possible to argue the reverse: the evidence suggests that 90 percent of the Hungarian Jews did not die at Auschwitz, regardless of their ultimate fate.

When the Auschwitz death toll was officially revised from four million to about one million in 1989, the traditional figure of 400,000 Hungarian Jews killed at Auschwitz assumed greater importance than ever before. The Hungarian Jews, now 40 percent of the total, became the largest group of Jews said to have been exterminated in that camp. However, the evidence we have reviewed makes it clear that the Hungarian Jews deported in the summer of 1944 were deported for labor in war-important industries, and they were in fact employed in such labor after being transferred from Auschwitz to hundreds of other camps. In addition, we have seen evidence that significant numbers of Hungarian Jews unfit for labor were not in fact exterminated. We have also seen the overall population of the camp system increase, commensurate to the influx of large numbers of Hungarian Jews. Finally, we have seen reasonable statistics that indicate that 45 percent or more of these deportees survived, in spite of the catastrophic death rates that prevailed in the camps at the end of the war.

Determining the fate of the Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz with some finality would entail a detailed analysis of the records of all of the camps and sub-camps of the concentration camp system, as well as all the private and government agencies which had a declared interest in Hungarian Jewish labor in 1944. Probably such materials could be located in the various files pertaining to forced labor during the National Socialist period not only in German archives, but also in those of Washington, Budapest, and above all, the former Soviet Union. It seems likely that such records exist, given the scope of some of the material we have reviewed. We expect these records will continue to be uncovered and used, especially by Hungarian historians, as they try to reconstruct the wartime fate of their countrymen, Jewish and non-Jewish.

It seems to be generally recognized today that the mass exterminations that are supposed to have occurred in "extermination camps" such as Auschwitz have been manipulated for political and ideological purposes.⁴³ This does not make the extermination

claims automatically false, but what such abuse does accomplish is to reduce the people involved to passive statistics, fit only for posthumous martyrdom.

We say this because the reduction of death statistics at extermination camps is frequently said to rob the victims of their dignity in death. But on the contrary, as the studies of Szita and Stark suggest, a more detailed and nuanced study of the experiences of a people does not diminish, but rather enhances, the dignity and the tragedy of their individual lives. And, as such studies tell us what did happen, they also make it rather clear what did not.

It follows from the evidence at our disposal that 430,000 Hungarian Jews were not gassed and burned at Auschwitz, and that the death toll for that camp should again be revised downward by about 40 percent. But it also follows that historians have barely begun to grasp the fate of Hungary's Jews in the Second World War.⁵

Notes

1. The general estimates of Hungarian Jewish casualties come from Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary* (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 792, and László Varga, "The Losses of Hungarian Jewry," in Randolph Braham, ed., *Studies on the Holocaust in Hungary*, East European monographs, no. 301 (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 256-265. Of an estimated 509,000 deportees, Varga reckons 383,000 died (p. 262), and gives remarkably low estimates for emigrants, and survivors who did not return (5,000 for each of the se two categories). These estimates were repeated by Robert Jan Van Pelt in his expert report for the Irving v. Penguin/Lipstadt trial (pp. 46-48). His expert opinion, though unpublished, can be found both on Irving's website (www.fpp.co.uk) and a site maintained on Deborah Lipstadt's behalf(www.holocaustontrial.com).
2. Detailed in Van Pelt's expert opinion, pp. 47-48, the changes occurred between the original French version, *Les Crématoires d'Auschwitz*, and the Italian and German editions of Pressac's book.
3. Van Pelt, op. cit., p. 48.
4. István Deák, "A Fatal Compromise? The Debate over Collaboration and Resistance in Hungary," in István Deák, Jan T. Gross, and Tony Judt, eds., *The Politics of Retribution in Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 72 n. 22.
5. Arthur R. Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1977), pp. 133-159, 170-171.
6. Jürgen Graf, "What Happened to the Jews Who Were Deported to Auschwitz but Were Not Registered There?" and Arthur R. Butz, "On the 1944 Deportation of Hungarian Jews," in the *Journal of Historical Review* (JHR) 19, no. 4 (July-August 2000), pp. 4-29.
7. Graf, ibid. The source of the "386 camps" will be discussed below.
8. The various classes of data are discussed extensively in Tamás Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust and after the Second World War, 1939-1949: A Statistical Review*, translated by Christina Rosznyai, East European Monographs (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 21ff. This is essentially a translation of his *Zsidóság a vészkorszakban és a felszabadulás után, 1939-1955* [Jewry during the Holocaust and after Liberation, 1939-1955] (Budapest:1995). Szabolcs Szita also discusses the scope of the deportations in *Halálerőd: A munkaszolgálat és a hadimunka történetéhez* [Death Fort: On the History of the Labor Service and Military Labor] (Budapest: 1989), pp. 45ff., and provides the lists of the attorney in Kosice.
9. Stark, op. cit., pp. 24f.
10. Quoted and discussed by Butz, op. cit., pp. 139, 142ff.
11. See Widmann, "Transfers to the Reich: The Unregistered Inmates of Auschwitz," pp. 21, current issue of the JHR.
12. In this August 15, 1944, telegram, Burger also describes 90,000 Jews as part of the Hungarian action. By our interpretation, the 90,000 Hungarian Jews mentioned by Burger refers either to transit Jews not yet assigned to work or to Hungarian Jews who were incapable of work in Auschwitz-Birkenau as of that date. Because, moreover, we know that there were no further Hungarian deportations to Auschwitz later than August 15, 1944, it seems as if the actual population of the concentration camp system would be 90,000 higher, if these 90,000 were included. Braham, op. cit., p. 793, misuses this document, a misuse traceable to Danuta Czech's erroneous claim that the document refers to the population of Auschwitz only, rather than to the concentration camp system as a whole.
13. Robert N. Proctor, *The Nazi War against Cancer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 260, 346 n. 31, and references German researcher. Proctor assumes (p. 260) that the figure is too high for the camps alone, but the magnitude is generally accepted by most scholars, cf. Ulrich Herbert, *Fremdarbeiter* (Bonn: Dietz Verlag, 1999), p. 426.
14. Paul Rassinier, *The Holocaust Story and the Lies of Ulysses*, Costa Mesa, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1978, p. 365
15. www.mazal.org
16. Stark, op. cit., p. 25.
17. Van Pelt, op. cit.
18. Isabell Sprenger, *Gross-Rosen: Ein Konzentrationslager in Schlesien*, Neue Forschungen zur Schlesischen Geschichte, vol. 6 (Köln: Böhlau Verlag,1996), pp. 335-359.

19. Szita, op. cit., pp. 217ff.
20. Braham, op. cit., pp. 792f. and "The Hungarian Jews," in Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998), p. 466.
21. Szita, op. cit., pp. 281-287. To be fair, Szita also mentions some locations in Russia where Hungarian Jews of the Labor Service were employed, for example, Kiev, locations that were clearly not available as destinations by May, 1944.
22. Dieter Vaupel, "The Hessisch Lichtenau Sub-Camp of the Buchenwald Concentration Camp, 1944-45," in Braham, ed., *Studies*, pp. 194-237.
23. Van Pelt, op. cit., pp. 26ff.
24. *The Detroit News*, Saturday, July 25, 1998 (Internet edition).
25. Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941-1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: 1996), p. 367.
26. Vaupel, op. cit., p. 195, for the minimum figure.
27. Himmler quoted in Wilhelm Stäglich, *Auschwitz* (Newport Beach, CA: Institute for Historical Review, 1986), pp. 73ff. See also Graf, op. cit., p. 13; also Albert Speer, *Infiltration* (NY: Macmillan, 1981), pp. 289-291, and Herbert, op. cit., pp. 426-431.
28. Speer, op. cit. Szita's various books describe many aspects of Hungarian forced labor, especially for the lower Danube defense works, and for the Mauthausen complex. There are also testimony and documents about the use of Hungarian forced labor in the records of the Nuremberg Military Tribunal (NMT), especially Case 2 (the Milch case), Case 4 (the Pohl, or Concentration Camp, case) and Case 5 (the Farben case).
29. Stark, op. cit., pp. 28ff.
30. The famous exchange between Pohl and Himmler, culminating in Himmler's insistence that enough garlic be provided the Hungarian Jewish women, was recorded in documents of Case 4 of the NMT, and is cited in Braham, *Politics*, p. 783.
31. Terezin website, www.scrapbookpages.com/CzechRepublic/Theresienstadt/statistics.html; Stark, op. cit., p. 74, cites five to six thousand Hungarian Jews at Theresienstadt at the end of the war.
32. Braham, *Politics*, p. 1298; Stark, op. cit., p. 127.
33. Stark's original estimate in "A magyar zsidóság veszteségei" (The Losses of Hungarian Jewry), *Historia* (Budapest), no. 1-2 (1989), pp. 54-56, the later number discussed in Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 136-138. In his original article, Stark gave rough calculations as follows (p. 56): 490,000 deportations, 360 non-returns (inferring 130,000 returns), a minimum of 50,000 who emigrated, and therefore 310,000 deaths among the deportees, or 63% mortality.
34. Other sources claim 100,000 or more deportees from Budapest in this period. However, most of the sources cited by Stark (op. cit., pp. 32-35) mention 30 to 35 thousand. Stark settles on "50-100 thousand." It is a key point, because the lower the numbers deported from Budapest, the lower the overall number of deportees, and, because the number of returnees is fixed at about 100 to 120 thousand, the higher the survival rate among the May-July deportees.
35. This is a key issue, because there is a tendency to assume that the returnees would comprise mostly those deported to the Austrian border in the fall of 1944. Szita's work, however, makes it clear that the death rate on the Austrian border was very high, and that, furthermore, the deportees from the fall were mostly from Budapest, not the provinces targeted during the May-July deportations. Stark *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 79f., meanwhile, lists 83,000 registered returnees, of which only about 20-25% come from Budapest, which means the balance must have come from the May-July deportations.
36. Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, p. 75, quoting a contemporary newspaper.
37. Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 46-56, esp. 56.
38. Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust*, pp. 85-86, 87, 89, esp. 90, 91, 93.
39. Stark (see note 33 above).
40. Compare the discussion in Butz, op. cit., and particularly the large literature concerning of the bombing of Auschwitz.
41. *Life* 49, no. 22, November 28, 1960, p. 109.
42. Stark discusses the influx of Hungarians, presumably including Jews, from the outlying provinces to escape the advancing Red Army, as well as the flight of provincial Jews to the capital to escape deportation.
43. E.g., Norman Finkelstein, *The Holocaust Industry* (NY: Verso, 2000) and Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (NY: Basic Books, 2001).

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 21 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the *Journal* alive, our sincerest thanks.

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Fredrick Toben

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Jürgen Graf

Swiss author and researcher Graf examines long-unavailable Auschwitz camp records, from the Moscow archives and elsewhere, to establish the true fates of thousands of Jews at Auschwitz deemed gassed by exterminationists. Graf cites documents showing treatment and release from the Auschwitz hospital of numerous unregistered Hungarian Jews; the presence in Auschwitz of a sizable number of Jewish children, a good number of whom survived the war; and records of many Hungarian Jews, unregistered at Auschwitz, who were sent on to other German camps. Briskly with facts and insight. 55 min. (#vi126) \$19.95

My Struggle in Canada

Ernst Zündel

The man who commissioned the Leuchter Report and inspired David Irving's conversion to gas-chamber skepticism talks movingly of his marathon struggle for freedom of expression in his adopted homeland. Zündel relates how the ludicrously named Canadian Human Rights Tribunal has been citing Zündel materials on an Internet website, though owned and operated by Ingrid Rimland in California, as the latest pretext for muzzling him. As Ernst makes clear, the machinations of Canada's spy and police agencies, its media, and its Jewish organizational mafia have anything but dampened the spirits of this one-man truth wave. 66 min. (#vi127) \$19.95

A Skeptical Look at 'Schindler's List'

Theodore J. O'Keefe

IHR editor O'Keefe takes a skeptical look at "Schindler's List," to show that — as Schindler's Jewish "survivors" agree — the list was actually the work of the venal Jewish ghetto policeman and concentration camp capo, Marcel Goldberg. Looking beyond the misnamed list, O'Keefe establishes that Schindler's life-saving exertions are a postwar invention; that his activities as an industrialist and employer of "slave labor" were fully in line with official German policy; and that the survival of "his" Jews, at a branch of the concentration camp Gross-Rosen in Moravia at war's end was far from unique. 58 min. (#vi128) \$19.95

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*Robert Countess, Bradley Smith,
& John Bennett*

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Pete McCloskey

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My Revisionist Method *Robert Faurisson*

The man who made revisionism a household word in his native France goes back to his own revisionist beginnings, and then to the frontiers of revisionism today, in this sparkling lecture. Professor Faurisson recounts how his youthful studies in Greek and Latin, followed by his celebrated deciphering of the meaning of such difficult modern poets as Rimbaud and Lautréaumont, guided him to his revisionist method: simple, "nuts and bolts," free of pedantry, going to the center of things. In an unforgettable performance, Faurisson reveals how his "No holes, no Holocaust!" challenge springs directly from this method, shares amusing details from his conversation with Deborah Lipstadt, and updates his critique of the Anne Frank "diary." 67 min. (#v132) \$19.95

The Unknown Dr. Nyiszli: Auschwitz Witness

Charles Provan

The credibility of Miklos Nyiszli, whose "memoirs" have promoted the Auschwitz myth to millions, bites the dust in this informative lecture. Independent researcher Charles Provan answers questions and dispels myths about the "doctor at Auschwitz" that have gone unchallenged for decades: Nyiszli's German medical schooling; his prewar trip to America; the whoppers on the Auschwitz crematories in Nyiszli's posthumous memoirs; his Doctor at Auschwitz originally classified as fiction; and Nyiszli's postwar membership in Ana Pauker's Romanian Communist Party. 45 min. (#v131) \$19.95

Life and Work as a Political Refugee

Germar Rudolf

This youthful scientist and writer — himself a political refugee — reports knowledgeably on Germany's ever more draconian legal measures against dissident "thought criminals." The author of the most advanced forensic analysis of the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz, renowned as The Rudolf Report, also tells about his recent research and publishing work. Rudolf, now living in forced exile, also takes telling aim at Robert Jan Van Pelt, a key witness in the recent London Irving-Lipstadt trial. Rudolf comments authoritatively on the chemistry of the Auschwitz crematory ruins, as it figured in the Irving trial and in the recent "Mr. Death" movie about Fred Leuchter. 65 min. (#v133) \$19.95

Blacklisting My Book, 'An Eye for An Eye'

John Sack

This prolific author and journalist tells the story of his headline-making book in an address he was prevented from giving at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Sack dramatically tells how Polish Jews working in the Communist Office of State Security tortured and murdered innocent German civilians, how he discovered some of these Jews years later, and how a few of them repented of their crimes. Following his lecture, Holocaust true-believer Sack answers tough questions from conference attendees. 58 min. (#v134) \$19.95

Changing Views of Race and Society / Closing Remarks

*Glayde Whitney, Greg Raven
& Mark Weber*

A Florida State University psychology professor, and former president of the Behavioral Genetics Association, Whitney relates how his field, psychology, was hijacked from its rightful place among the natural sciences to serve a specious ideology-driven agenda of egalitarianism. Whitney names names — from Franz Boas to Steven Jay Gould — and calls for a return to the methods and values of Charles Darwin and Francis Galton. Then, in a heartfelt closing, IHR director Mark Weber and corporate chief Greg Raven close the Conference with thanks to speakers, attendees, and all IHR supporters. 68 min. (#v135) \$19.95

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An Exercise in Futility

The Bombing of Auschwitz: Should the Allies Have Attempted It? edited by Michael J. Neufeld and Michael Berenbaum. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. Hardcover. 350 pp. Bibliography, index, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL CROWELL

Given the belief that Auschwitz was a unique slaughterhouse in which a million, or several millions, were gassed and burned, the question of whether the Allies could have done something to stop the supposed slaughter there is a natural one. In fact, aerial attacks on the alleged gas chambers of Auschwitz were proposed during the war, when several Jewish agencies tried to prod the United States and Britain to intervene militarily during the evacuation of 400,000 Hungarian Jews in 1944.

Following the war, interest in the question of the Allied failure to bomb Auschwitz receded, although it was still common enough for Arthur R. Butz to mention in his *Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (1977), along with his correct speculation that the Allies must have taken aerial photographs of the Auschwitz complex. In the following year, David Wyman wrote an article pressing the case for the Allies' dereliction in failing to bomb the "gas chambers and crematoria," an argument he would recapitulate in his 1984 book *The Abandonment of the Jews*. (We should note that "gas chambers and crematoria" are always discussed in tandem by Holocaust historians, evidence for the latter being considered sufficient proof of the former.) In 1979, when Brugioni and Poirier discovered the long-forgotten aerial photos of Auschwitz-Birkenau, they were seized upon, enabling Elie Wiesel to claim, "The world knew and kept silent... nothing was done to stop or delay the process. Not one bomb was dropped on the railway tracks to the death camps" (p. x).

The present book, derived from a symposium held at the occasion of the opening of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum 1993, is basically a meditation on Wiesel's accusation of Allied inaction. The book comprises fifteen contributions which take up about two-thirds of its length, detailed notes, an extensive appendix of contemporary telegrams and cables, but only an edited version of the famous Vrba-Wetzler report.

A number of the articles are of an impressionistic nature. Gerhard Weinberg, the American professor who first proclaimed the bogus Hitler Diaries genuine, offers little except his opinion that the Nazis were "nasty people" who fundamentally enjoyed slaughtering Jews and who would have found a way to do so even if the gas chambers and crematoria had been bombed: to argue otherwise is "preposterous" (p. 25). Henry L. Feingold suggests in his piece that the proper route would have been to bomb the German cities in retaliation: after all, the cities were being destroyed anyway, so why not simply justify the practice by referencing Auschwitz? It is difficult to take such casual arguments seriously.

Richard Breitman, who is remarkable among orthodox historians of the Holocaust for his industry in consulting the archives on some occasions, contributes a marginally off-topic article about the ULTRA decodes. While his description of the results of the British effort that broke the German "Enigma" codes fails to address the book's central premise, he does mention that the British were unable to make a connection between the transports being sent to Auschwitz and mass killings. Breitman goes on to say: "More suggestive was a later (November, 1942) message that Auschwitz urgently needed six hundred gas masks to equip its new guards, but that, too, was only one little piece of a picture" (p. 29). Such a large number of gas masks would not have been necessary for any kind of gassing, fumigation or otherwise. On the other hand, the decode fits in nicely with other evidence developed over the past few years that indicates that Auschwitz and sites in occupied Poland were concerned about poison gas attacks at that time, and even before the crematoria were completed.

Several of the rest of the articles are of a highly technical nature. For example, the article by Frederick Kitchens, an Air Force expert, revels in the vocabulary of tactical bombing, describing the crematoria as "relatively soft targets of brick construction" (p. 86). Later Kitchens describes the prospective mission: a "dauntingly complex objective consisting of five widely spaced buildings (four at Birkenau, one over a mile away at Auschwitz I) which had to be identified and attacked in concert with little loiter time and no release error" (p. 90). Evidently, Kitchens was not informed that the base camp crematorium had been decommissioned the previous year, then turned into a bomb shelter. Other contributions go over similar details, and there are several diagrams showing the layout of the camp, the position

of the Birkenau crematoria, and differently shaded circles and boxes to show the extent of damage to be expected around them.

Given the wealth of detail from an air force perspective, one would have expected a corresponding analysis of the passive ground defense at Auschwitz. Yet there is no discussion of the civil defense fixtures, including gastight doors, with which the basements of the crematoria were equipped. Perhaps the authors did not want to contend with the paradox that, of all the structures in Auschwitz, the spaces they designate as "gas chambers" were in fact the best designed to withstand aerial bombardment. Meanwhile, while the authors are meticulous in estimating the collateral damage of a bombing raid in terms of prisoner casualties, none of them seems concerned that bombing the crematoria would also have involved the destruction of the sewage treatment plant as well as the Central Sauna. One is left with the absurd idea of a bombing raid that would destroy all of the hygienic facilities in an over-crowded camp, which would inevitably have engendered terrible epidemics.

The threat of diseases at the camp is, however, treated by Stuart G. Erdheim. It is his claim that had the crematoria been destroyed by bombardment, the Germans would have been unable to burn great numbers of corpses in ditches "due to the problems posed by humidity as well as the threat of disease. It was for these very reasons, in fact, that Himmler had ordered the crematoria built in the first place" (p. 355). Thus Erdheim's position might seem to be that the Nazis were committed to killing the prisoners in Auschwitz, but were hesitant to burn their bodies in ditches, for fear that this would lead to epidemics which would, no doubt, kill the prisoners at Auschwitz.

In general, the "technical" analyses all share two basic problems. First, there seems to be no clear appreciation of the actual capacities of the "gas chambers" or the crematoria, let alone the capacities as they were envisioned by the Allies in 1944. Most of the authors, quoting testimonies or postwar novels, dogmatically describe how the "gas chambers and crematoria" could destroy a thousand or ten thousand persons per day. But that calculation is irrelevant to the counterfactual scenarios they devise, because it is clear from the primary source material in the back of the book that the figure being tossed around in 1944 was sixty thousand per day.

. That a killing rate of sixty thousand per day was even believed possible in 1944 is important to recon-

structing the mindset of the Jewish groups and of American and British officials, from which one should be able to derive some conclusions about their concern, or lack of concern, for what was transpiring at Auschwitz. Yet so incredible a death rate should also have led the authors to attempt to establish the actual capacities of their assumed "gas chambers." If they had done so they would have found that the spaces they envisioned bombing had no extraordinary features. In effect, a basic analysis of the gassing claim, if it did not lead the authors to a revisionist perspective, would at least have led them to acknowledge that any closed space with a secure enough door would suffice, which means that bombing the "gas chambers" would have been utterly pointless.

The second basic problem concerns cremation. The underlying assumption appears to be that the Nazis were eager to carry out mass gas exterminations, but only if they could destroy all evidence of the crime. This idea suggests that the crematoria had some kind of magical ability to destroy the evidence of mass murder, and without such machines the mass murder would not have gone forward. This notion ignores the standard claim that several million Holocaust victims were killed with no expensive cremation facilities to dispose of their remains. Furthermore, since most of the authors endorse the idea of cremation pits at Auschwitz capable of destroying the remains of thousands on a daily basis, and must, according to the traditional view, endorse the idea for other locations, it is hard to see why the destruction of cremation facilities would be vital. We may leave aside the fact that bombing the crematoria would have, at the very least, provided the Nazis with a surfeit of bomb craters ready made for cremation. Still, it seems to us that the proper point of departure for any researcher attempting to evaluate the feasibility of a bombing run on the crematoria would have been to investigate the actual capacities of such a structure. If such is done, and realistic cremation rates selected, the point of bombing the crematoria is rendered moot.

Aside from the primary documentation provided in the back, there is on balance little to recommend *The Bombing of Auschwitz*. The technical articles, ranging over all the contingencies involved in the proposed bombing of the "gas chambers and crematoria," are fatally flawed by the ignorance of the authors about the very objects they envision destroying, which renders the rest of their highly learned commentary of little if any value. The impressionistic pieces, on the other

hand, simply repeat well-known, but by now rather trite, moral judgments. There is, however, one pleasant surprise: Deborah Lipstadt, in an overview revised for this release, declares that the use of the Holocaust for political purposes, including the question of the Allied failure to bomb Auschwitz, is “ahistorical”—which fairly well sums up the nature of this flawed book.

Not Quite the Hitler Diaries

Gestapo Chief: The 1948 Interrogation of Heinrich Müller by Gregory Douglas. San Jose, CA: R. James Bender, 1995. Hardcover. 283 pages. \$35.95. Bibliography, index, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY MARK WEBER

Gestapo Chief, more than seventy thousand copies of which have reportedly been sold, is the product of an inventive mind and much hard work. It purports to present long-suppressed secret documents with startling revelations about Third Reich Germany, Hitler, Roosevelt, Churchill, and the Second World War.

This book, and three others in the *Gestapo Chief* series, are based primarily on what the author claims are detailed revelations from Heinrich Müller, the Bavarian-born policeman who, from 1939 until 1945, was chief of the Gestapo, the Third Reich’s “Secret State Police” (*Geheime Staatspolizei*), a branch of the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). He was the immediate boss, for example, of Adolf Eichmann, who headed the RSHA bureau that oversaw Germany’s wartime Jewish deportation program. Müller reported to RSHA chief Reinhard Heydrich (until his assassination in Prague in 1942), and then, until the end of the war, to Ernst Kaltenbrunner.

Just what happened to “Gestapo” Müller has never been satisfactorily established. He was last seen in Berlin in April 1945, vanishing in the chaos and turmoil of the great battle for the German capital shortly before the end of the war in Europe. His corpse has never been found. For decades rumors persisted that he escaped to South America, or that he worked for Soviet or American intelligence.

Half a century after the end of the war, an elusive American who sometimes calls himself “Gregory Douglas” emerged to present in *Gestapo Chief* what he claims is proof that in 1945 Müller escaped to Switzerland, where he was recruited by American intelligence.

From December 1948 until 1952, “Douglas” contends, Müller lived in the Washington, DC, area, where he worked for U.S. military intelligence in the Truman administration, rising to the rank of U.S. Army brigadier general. According to “Douglas,” the former Gestapo commandant participated in high-level White House security conferences, and even met President Truman.

“Douglas” lays out this amazing story, with ever more tantalizing revelations from Müller, in four *Gestapo Chief* volumes issued by R. James Bender, a northern California publisher that specializes in militaria, especially of Third Reich Germany. In addition, the first volume in this series was published in Germany under the title *Geheimakte Gestapo-Müller*. Three of the four volumes are supposedly based on conversations between Müller in 1948 in Switzerland and an American intelligence agent named James Kronthal; the fourth is purportedly based on a private diary he kept while living in the United States.

In addition, this first volume contains extensive excerpts of what are claimed to be German intercepts of secret wartime trans-Atlantic telephone conversations between Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. In a purported conversation on November 26, 1941, President Roosevelt tells Churchill that a Japanese strike force is preparing to attack the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on the weekend of December 7-8, 1941. This “smoking gun” document seemingly proves that the American president knew in advance of the impending Japanese attack, and failed to give adequate warning to Pearl Harbor’s defenders.

Perhaps this book’s most sensational “revelation” is that Hitler did not commit suicide on April 30, 1945, as those who were with him in the final days of the war later unanimously testified, but instead escaped to Spain. Müller insists that, with his help, Hitler and his mistress, Eva Braun, left Berlin on April 22, 1945, and flew from Austria on the 26th in a special four-motor aircraft that arrived the next day in Barcelona. “Listen to me,” Müller tells his American interrogator. “Hitler went to Spain. I know for certain his plane landed safely ...”

To confirm this testimony, the author presents what appears to be a facsimile reproduction of an authentic German document dated April 20, 1945. Headed “Special Führer journey to Barcelona,” and signed by Müller, it declares that “the Führer and his entourage will depart from airfield Hörching [near Linz] on April

26, 1945."

Müller says that, as part of the escape operation, he found a man who looked like Hitler to serve as a "double." Thus, Müller says, Hitler's wedding to Eva Braun in the Berlin bunker on April 28 or 29, 1945, was "pure theater." Afterwards, Müller goes on, the "double" was shot and his body left so that the Russians would find it, to mislead them into believing they had discovered the Führer's corpse.

My view that the Gestapo Chief series is an elaborate hoax is based not only on an examination of the books themselves, but on lengthy telephone conversations with the author. From these talks, I can attest that "Gregory Douglas" is intelligent, loquacious, knowledgeable, and literate, but also amoral, evasive, and vindictive. Those who have spoken at any length with him are struck by his chronic cynicism — a trait that, interestingly enough, is reflected in the words he attributes to

Müller throughout the Gestapo Chief series.

The man who crafted this series of books is a known fabricator of documents who has used a variety of names over the years, including Peter Stahl, Samuel Prescot Bush, and Freiherr Von Mollendorf. His real name, apparently, is Peter Norton Birch or Peter Norwood Burch.

His son, with whom I have also spoken, sometimes fronts for his father as the author of the Gestapo Chief books. For more than a year the son has been living and working in Rockford, Illinois, under the name Gregory Douglas Alford. He is also a former staff writer for the *Sun-Star* newspaper of Merced, California, and the *Journal-Standard* of Freeport, Illinois. Apparently he has sometimes used the name Gregg Stahl.

David Irving, who is probably more familiar with wartime German documents than any other living historian, dismisses *Gestapo Chief* as "a carefully crafted

Am Kommandobach
einfach Müller
SS-Gruppenführer
Kommandeur des Deutschen
Chef-Sache
Nur durch Offizier
Berlin, Am 20. April 1945
3 Ausfertigungen
1 Ausfertigung.
Betr.: Führersonderreise nach Barcelona

1. Der Führer und seiner Begleitung verläßt den Flugplatz Hörsching am 26.4.1945 um 20.00 Uhr.
2. Hierzu befinden sich in der Begleitung des Führers:

Der Führer
Reichsleiter Dr. Goebbels
Reichsleiter Bormann
SS-Gruppenführer Müller
SS-Gruppenführer Fegelein
General der Infanterie Burgdorf
Botschafter zBV Hessel
SS-Oberstuf. Betsch
SS-Stabf. Dr. Stumpfegger
SS-Hauptstuf. Gross
Fr. Braun
Fr. Manzialy
... 4 Mann Begleitko (RSD) #3

Das Gepäck vorstehend genannte Herren ist bis 16.00 Uhr vor der Kommandantur Flugplatz Hörsching abzugeben.

Am Kommandobach
einfach Müller
SS-Gruppenführer
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Fr. Manzialy
... 4 Mann Begleitko (RSD) #3

Das Gepäck vorstehend genannter Herren ist bis 16.00 Uhr vor der Kommandantur Flugplatz Hörsching abzugeben.

*SS-Gruppenführer
Amtsleiter IV RSHA*

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D. 17/II 1945
A-76
4-51 1945

Each of these two "documents" has been presented by "Gregory Douglas" as a facsimile reproduction of a secret German document dated April 20, 1945. Headed "Special Führer journey to Barcelona," it purports to be evidence that Adolf Hitler flew from Germany to Spain during the final weeks of the war in Europe. The version on the left, with "SS" rendered as normal typewriter letters, was published by "Douglas" along with an article by him in the spring 1990 issue of *The Military Advisory*. The "corrected" version on the right, with "SS" rendered in runic letters, appears in the first volume of *Gestapo Chief* (p. 275). Both versions are fabrications, as are most of the "documents" presented in the *Gestapo Chief* series.



Heinrich Müller

historical novel." Some years ago, Irving says, "Peter Stahl" tried to sell him forged documents. Another British historian, John Costello (author of *Ten Days to Destiny* and other works), whom I knew rather well until his death in August 1995, told me that Douglas/Stahl similarly tried to sell him wartime documents of dubious authenticity.

Perhaps the most obviously suspect feature of the *Gestapo Chief* series is that the author will not permit any independent examination of his "original" documents. (To be sure, not all the documents he presents are fraudulent. To add credibility to his book, "Douglas" includes, among his forgeries, a number of indisputably authentic wartime documents.)

During one telephone conversation, "Douglas" told me with some pride that his book would soon be coming out in German, and that the 1948 Müller interrogations were being translated into German. But how, I asked, was that possible, given that (as *Gestapo Chief* readers are told) these interrogations took place in German and the "original" transcripts are already in German. The normally suave and loquacious "Douglas" was at a loss for words.

Characteristic of this entire series is the clearly fraudulent "facsimile document" of April 20, 1945, pre-

sented on page 275 of *Gestapo Chief*. This is actually the author's second, "corrected" version. The first appeared with an article he wrote for the spring 1990 issue of *The Military Advisor*, a magazine issued by the same firm that publishes *Gestapo Chief*. But whereas the "SS" characters are rendered in this earlier "facsimile" as normal typescript letters, they are rendered in *Gestapo Chief* as "lightning bolt" runes.

How did these amazing documents come into the author's possession? In *Gestapo Chief*, the first volume of the series, "Douglas" tells the reader that "In the early 1980s, by means that are not of concern here, all of Müller's personal files came into private hands." Later "Douglas" claimed that Müller personally gave him these extraordinary documents (*Spotlight*, Jan. 6, 1997). In another *Spotlight* interview (Nov. 9, 1998), "Douglas" claimed to have met Müller in 1963, and to have known him well until his death in 1983. Remarkably, no mention of this twenty-year relationship appears in volume one of *Gestapo Chief*.

To credit Douglas' fantastic yarns requires one to accept that Hitler's personal and political testaments of April 29, 1945, are phony, and that all those who were with him in the final days in the Berlin bunker, and who survived the war, conspired for decades in a lie to hide the German leader's escape to Spain. These persons include Hans Baur, Hitler's pilot; Traudl Junge, the secretary who typed Hitler's final testament; the pilot Hanna Reitsch; Otto Günsche, Hitler's personal adjutant, who carried the body of Eva Braun from the bunker up to the courtyard where it was burned; Erich Kempka, the chauffeur who helped burn the bodies of Hitler and his wife; Heinz Linge, Hitler's valet; and Artur Axmann, the Hitler Youth leader (Linge and Axmann later testified to having seen Hitler's corpse). Some of these witnesses were questioned by British historians Hugh Trevor-Roper and David Irving; others, during Soviet captivity, by the Russians. Their stories tally.

Finally, it is utterly implausible to believe that Hitler would have vanished without trace after arriving in Spain, and that not a single one of the many persons who would have noticed his arrival there has ever spoken of it.

How has "Douglas" gotten away with his fraud? One important factor has been the unwavering support he's received for years from Willis Carto. In spite of repeated warnings that "Douglas" is a liar and that his *Gestapo Chief* books are frauds, Carto has steadfastly promoted

“Douglas” and his books in two periodicals he controls: *The Spotlight*, the weekly Liberty Lobby tabloid, and *The Barnes Review*, a bi-monthly history magazine.

For years Carto has promoted and offered for sale the Gestapo Chief series through the *Barnes Review* book club. He has arranged for publication of numerous articles by and interviews with “Gregory Douglas.” Typical is a *Spotlight* interview (Jan. 5-12, 1998) headlined “Establishment Can’t Keep Lid on Blockbuster Gestapo Books.” Another uncritical interview with “Douglas” appeared in the April 1997 *Barnes Review*. A few months later, the November 1997 issue of *The Barnes Review* featured a laudatory review of the second Gestapo Chief volume. Written by veteran *Spotlight* staff writer Fred Blahut, it assures readers that “Douglas proves, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Muller did, indeed, survive [the war] and was, in fact, interrogated by the CIA. Following these extensive sessions, he was employed and moved to Washington ... He was a key player in the Cold War ... Douglas presents the facts and lets the chips fall where they may.”

Gestapo Chief is a fraud nearly as audacious as the notorious “Hitler Diaries” hoax of 1983. For those who care about accurate and honest historiography, the case of *Gestapo Chief* is an instructive one.

In the Name of the Holocaust

Between the Alps and a Hard Place: Switzerland in World War II and Moral Blackmail Today by Angelo Codevilla. Washington, DC: Regnery, 2000. Hardcover. \$27.263pp. Index.

REVIEWED BY DANIEL MICHAELS

In *Between the Alps and a Hard Place*, distinguished U.S. foreign policy adviser (and long-standing supporter of Israel) Angelo Codevilla takes the Clinton administration to task for collaborating with the World Jewish Congress to extract, by means of moral blackmail, billions of dollars from Swiss, Austrian, and German banks and businesses. Codevilla charges further that American politicians, mostly Democrats, received generous political contributions for their support of the WJC’s campaign.

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), and a former Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). He is retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.

Put bluntly, the WJC operation strongly resembled a shake-down, whereby the Swiss would stand accused of crimes against the Jewish people if they failed to fork over a sum finally set at over a billion dollars. The WJC had already secured, through lavish contributions, the practical, if not official, support of the Clinton administration. The “moral” support of U.S. establishment media was of course to be counted on, as in all such cases involving the “victims of Nazism.”

At the federal level, President Clinton offered the “good offices” at the State Department of his good friend, Stuart Eizenstat, who also acted as U.S. special envoy for property claims in Central and Eastern Europe. Thus Switzerland was lumped, for the first time, in the category of Nazi collaborator and recipient of assets stolen in the Second World War. Eizenstat promptly and dutifully presented a report on the Swiss matter that was pleasing to the WJC. His report stated that “our task is to complete the unfinished business of the twentieth century’s most traumatic and tragic events and of doing things now that couldn’t be done then.” In these words he dismissed decisions on lost assets made under the Truman administration, and provoked ill-feelings against a nation with which we have long had friendly relations. The final irony of the Eizenstat report, as Codevilla notes, is that it contains only sixteen pages on its ostensible main subject — heirless assets in Switzerland — and even those pages contain not a single finding on how many victims of Nazism put how much money where, or what happened to it (p. 168). “Stu” Eizenstat kept pushing the Swiss bank case for the best settlement possible, right up to President Clinton’s last day in office.

Edgar Bronfman, head of the WJC, was the prime mover and main plaintiff in the action against the Swiss banks for allegedly having collaborated with the Nazis and having failed to disclose and return heirless deposits made by Jewish victims before the war. Such deposits would have had to be made surreptitiously, since the National Socialist government had put limitations on the amounts of money that could be exported and had made currency speculation a crime.

At hearings before the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs in April 1996, Bronfman assumed moral authority on behalf of Jews worldwide, living and dead, to reclaim this “patrimony” (p. 6): “I speak to you today on behalf of the Jewish people. With reverence, I also speak to you on behalf of the six million who cannot speak for themselves.”

To introduce the issue and himself before the Committee, Bronfman first employed the services of its chairman, Republican Senator from New York Alfonse D'Amato, who opened the hearings by proclaiming (p. 5): "We have in our possession recently declassified documents that shed new light on Switzerland's role in World War II."

It mattered not, Codevilla notes, that Senator D'Amato was unable to produce any credible new evidence, nor that President Harry Truman had settled the issue of "heirless assets" in 1949, when he signed Senate Bill 603, setting upper limits on such claims. It did not even matter that Mr. Bronfman in no way represented the Jewish people as a whole. When Codevilla queried his contacts in the Israeli Foreign Ministry to ascertain whether the Israeli government backed Bronfman's action, the Israelis denied it, and told him that Switzerland was one of Israel's best supporters (p. 165, 174).

As is standard in legal actions involving numerous plaintiffs, the WJC filed a class action suit against the Swiss. By doing so, they could rely on maximum favorable publicity, and hope for a settlement before going to trial to prove the truth of their accusations. It is well known that most of the proceeds won in such cases are swallowed up by lawyers and the organizations hiring them. The many individuals on whose behalf the suit is presumably filed normally receive very little compensation.

The most important concern in class-action suits, as Codevilla explains, is the need to select a sympathetic venue and an equally well-disposed judge. New York City, specifically the Borough of Brooklyn, with its heavily Jewish population, was seen by the plaintiffs as the perfect venue. After some consideration Judge Edward Korman, a Democrat who had been appointed to the federal bench through the political patronage of Senator Patrick Moynihan, was selected to preside.

New York City Comptroller Alan Hevesi, chief financial official in America's financial capital, was able to exert additional pressure on the Swiss. In his office as Comptroller, Hevesi and his committee had the authority to grant or reject licenses for major business transactions in New York. At the time of the suit, the Union Bank of Switzerland was requesting a license to merge with the Swiss Bank Corporation, which would create UBS, Europe's largest bank. Since these banks do a business of about \$4 billion per year in New York, the Swiss could ill afford to displease Hevesi.

After much haggling a settlement was reached in the

case (the Swiss agreed to pay \$1.25 billion), and a "special master," Judah Gribetz, was appointed by Judge Korman to administer the distribution of the award to the plaintiffs and their attorneys. Gribetz had been a member of the Judicial Selection Committee that had advised Senator Moynihan on federal judicial appointments, including that of Judge Korman. Gribetz was also president of the Jewish Community Relations Council and a lifetime advocate of Jewish causes (p. 193).

As Codevilla describes it, an unseemly, even obscene, fight over the distribution of the monies to be awarded ensued almost immediately between lawyers representing individual victims, lawyers representing the various Jewish organizations, and still others representing themselves and fighting for their own fees. Aside from the legal suit filed by the WJC, whose main strategist was Rabbi Israel Singer, the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles had its attorneys, Michael Hausfeld, Melvyn Weiss, and Martin Mendelsohn, open legal proceedings, as did still a third camp headed by Edward D. Fagan, another Holocaust activist. While the lawyers bickered and bad-mouthed each other, the WJC consolidated its central role in the claims.

The internecine squabbling led no less than Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League to comment: "I don't want an industry to be made on the memory of the victims because there are so few survivors out there who will benefit from it." The columnist Charles Krauthammer deplored the rancorous bickering of the contending parties. While agreeing that the suit was justified in order to reveal any wrongdoings on the part of the Swiss or others against Jews, Krauthammer thought that the emphasis on money cheapened the entire proceedings. Krauthammer: "But money? It should be beneath the dignity of the Jewish people to accept it, let alone seek it."

In 1997, the Swiss government and industry established a \$200 million fund for Holocaust victims and designated the WJC to disburse the monies. A year later, only 10 percent of this amount had actually been allotted. The effective beneficiaries, Codevilla states, turned out, as expected, to be the organizations themselves, especially the WJC.

Once the money had been turned over to the WJC for disbursal, the media's vilification campaign against Swiss banks ceased to be news. Codevilla comments cynically that postwar financial settlements follow the principle that "the strong keep what they can while the

weak give up what they must." By the strong, Codevilla apparently means the United States, acting in concert with Jewish interests. Thus was a million dollar investment in the form of a political contribution parlayed into a billion dollar payoff — all in the name of the victims of the Holocaust.

Codevilla rightly points out the displeasure and even hostility toward the United States that this affair engendered abroad. When a private interest group such as the WJC is able to recruit and involve U.S. government officials in a grievance suit against a foreign country for injustices, real or alleged, that occurred more than half a century ago, it is manifestly unfair to the accused country, and may even violate U.S. law, for our government to lend its prestige and weight to the unproven claims of the plaintiffs. It then appears to all the world that the United States is ever ready to serve as Jewry's "cat's paw" in disputes (social, economic, financial, political) around the globe.

If any country should be the champion of Jewish concerns and grievances the world over, it should be the State of Israel, but of course Israel lacks the clout that the United States can bring to bear. The U.S. government is legally and rightfully the guarantor and protector of the rights of all U.S. citizens — Christians, Jews, or Muslims — here or abroad. What happened, or is alleged to have happened, to individuals abroad — before they emigrated to this country and acquired U.S. citizenship — is not rightly our business. Indeed, most citizens of the United States emigrated to this country precisely because of grievances, injustices, or hardships — real or perceived — suffered abroad.

Codevilla might be criticized for spending too much time in defending Switzerland's difficult position in the Second World War. Switzerland really needs no defense or explanation for its wartime actions. The author also expends too many words to explain the gold trade during the war. Readers of this type of literature know full well that most countries and governments are Mammon's children with regard to wartime loot and booty. And, finally, some readers might find this book too partisan, exaggerating the (grantedly predominant) role of Democrats in letting WJC contributions guide their actions.

As to granting Jewish refugees shelter and a haven in their time of need, Switzerland did more in proportion to its size and wealth than did the United States. At the Evian Conference in 1938, Switzerland even offered to be a staging area for an exodus of Jews from Germany,

but no country, including the United States, would take significant numbers of refugees. Still later, at the Bermuda Conference of 1943, Codevilla reminds, the United States and Britain refused to take any practical steps to mitigate the plight of the Jews. Ironically, by far the greatest number of European Jews, about 350,000, found haven in Spain and Portugal, whose Catholic leaders, Franco and Salazar, have often received unfavorable press in this country (p. 104).

Notwithstanding these small faults, Codevilla, with the best interests of the American and Jewish people in mind, rightly condemns the Clinton administration for its officious and sanctimonious involvement in the Swiss bank affair, thereby subordinating U.S. foreign policy interests to those of a minority pressure group. By so doing, Clinton and his helpers distorted and abused the U.S. legal system, and created a foreign policy fiasco. Citizens would be justified in asking why and for how long and at what cost to America's own international interests is the United States to be the exclusive champion of Jewish claims and accusations.

D for History, A for Entertainment

Enemy at the Gates. (2001) Genre: film (war, drama). Length: 131 minutes. MPAA rating: R. Starring: Jude Law, Joseph Fiennes, Ed Harris, Rachel Weisz, Ron Perlman, Gabriel Marshall-Thomson, Matthias Habich. Director: Jean-Jacques Annaud. Producers: Jean-Jacques Annaud, John D. Schofield. Released by: Paramount. Grade: B+.

REVIEWED BY SCOTT L. SMITH

The success in 1998 of Steven Spielberg's smarmy *Saving Private Ryan* has inspired a reawakening of interest in epic movies of the Second World War. The latest of these, *Enemy at the Gates*, set in the cataclysmic siege of Stalingrad, is long on drama, short on historical accuracy.

As historical epic to rank with *Lawrence of Arabia*, or even *Doctor Zhivago*, *Enemy at the Gates* fails miserably. Nevertheless, it offers a compelling plot that features a duel between master snipers, and a romantic triangle among the Soviets.

The deadly contest in marksmanship takes place

Scott Smith holds a B.A. in history from Idaho State University. He served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps, and has worked as a radio-television engineer.

between a character based on a real-life Hero of the Soviet Union, Vassily Zaitsev (Jude Law), a sniper credited with hundreds of kills, and a fictitious German sniping expert, Major König (expertly played by Ed Harris). Meanwhile, Zaitsev and his handler, a Jewish commissar and propagandist, Comrade Danilov (Joseph Fiennes), vie for the beautiful Jewish soldier Tanya.

The love-interest does serve to divert the viewer from much of the movie's historical and tactical absurdity. For example, we learn in a cameo that General von Paulus (Matthias Habich), has placed his Sixth Army's entire hopes on Major König's skill in bringing down the Soviet propaganda icon, sharpshooter Zaitsev — and thus winning the pivotal battle of the war with a single well-placed bullet.

Ron Perlman briefly plays the captivating Kulikov, a German-trained sniper who mentors Zaitsev. "Don't have any illusions," the older man tells his study, baring wide the virtues of Soviet dentistry. But the major theme is the relentless duel between the ruthlessly efficient Major König and Comrade Zaitsev: two eyes peering behind two telescopic sights, one of Prussian blue and one of Russian Red.

This would never happen in real life. When a sniper fires he must extricate himself immediately: shock troops are on the way. In this film the protagonists act as amateur detectives in a dead metropolis, stalking each other underneath burlap camouflage. Where are the picket lines? Why is it that every German general likes to take a bath in grenade-range of still-steaming Russian corpses?

The weaponry is accurate, but one would really have expected much more from Berlin's Babelsberg studios, once home to Marlene Dietrich and Fritz Lang.

In a rip-off of *Saving Private Ryan*, the Soviets cross the Volga in barges bombed and strafed by the Luftwaffe — exciting, but not the same as the first few minutes of *Ryan*, where one could almost feel the MG-42 rounds ripping into the landing craft. Despite the cockney casting of the comrades — Bob Hoskins makes a particularly awful scene as Khrushchev, resembling a cross between Noriega and Boris Badenov — deep down we know that these are Russians. The Red Army throws them into the breach without weapons — political commissars standing by to shoot wafflers in the back. It's the legendary Russian way to win a war, where we forget that it was the Germans who were ultimately surrounded, but fought on!

A gripping though impossible drama, the love triangle is awkwardly played out with the required happy ending. Comrade Danilov does the right thing, instead of sending Vassily to the gulag over the affections of Tanya. You may even be able to trick your wife or girlfriend into seeing it with you. Tanya's "I knew you weren't dead." [Why?] "Because we've just met!" is no more mawkish than *Casablanca*'s "We'll always have Paris."

Once you forget that the outcome of the war in Europe is supposed to hinge on the plot, you may well enjoy this movie. The Germans have more Panthers and Stukas at first, but the tormented virtuoso with a Mauser rifle, Major König, is no Vassily Zaitsev. König, who stereotypically closes the drapes, unable to bear seeing wounded German soldiers in the train next to him, can certainly make an example of a double-dealing Dickensian street urchin named Sasha (Gabriel Marshall-Thomson), implausibly acting as spy for both snipers. What will become of the young Sasha? What will become of the complex Major König?

The price of admission is worth finding out. Just don't expect a history lesson. But if you've ever wondered how to make love in a cold bunker full of sleepy muzhiks, you will find out from *Enemy at the Gates*.

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Where are the Missing 'Six Million'? If Hitler Didn't Kill Europe's Jews, What Happened to Them?

In this masterly, unprecedented and, so far, unique demographic study, a qualified specialist shows what happened to Europe's Jews under Hitler and during the Second World War. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* provides the best accounting available of the actual fate of the "Six Million."

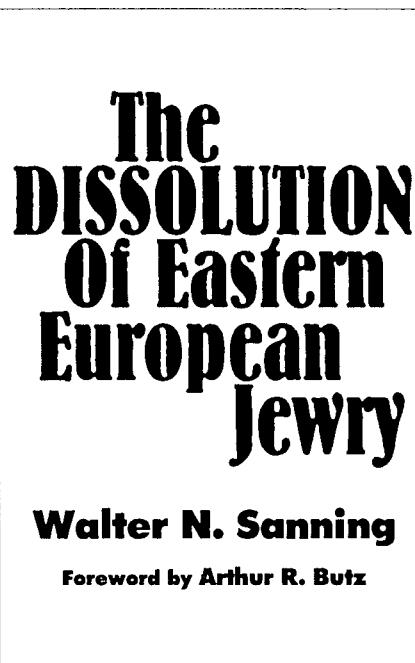
Carefully analyzes the (often fragmentary) census data and the extraordinary population displacements that occurred before, during and after the war, which involved great migrations and deportations of Jewish refugees into Soviet Russia and Ukraine, North and South America, and Palestine.

This study establishes that there never were "six million" Jews under German control at any time. It shows, for example, that the great majority of Jews in the Soviet territories occupied by the Germans, 1941-1944, and who are widely assumed to have perished as "victims of the Holocaust," were actually evacuated or fled — and never came under German rule.

Based on a wide range of sources, including publications of the Institute for Jewish Affairs and such reference works as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *American Jewish Year Book*, as well as contemporary European periodicals and wartime German documents.

In his foreword, Northwestern University Prof. Arthur R. Butz calls this "the first full

length serious study of World War II-related Jewish population changes ... This book presents the fundamentally correct account of the subject. The perfect antidote to the vulgar idiocies that are today monotonously peddled by the media ..."



The author was born in 1936 into an ethnic German family in a part of eastern Europe that was later incorporated into the Soviet Union. In the mid-1950s he emigrated to the United States, where he met his wife. He graduated with a B.A. (high honors) in international business from a prominent Pacific Northwest university, and did PhD-level graduate work at a major Ivy League university on the East coast.

He taught business, finance and economics at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at a major west coast university. He returned to work in the business world in the early 1970s.

The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry

by Walter N. Sanning
Foreword by Dr. Arthur R. Butz
Quality softcover. 239 pages. Graphs. Charts.
Maps. Bibliography. Index. (#0389)
ISBN 0-939484-11-0
\$8.25 postpaid (CA add \$.48 sales tax)

Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659 USA

Nothing to It

In the September-October 2000 issue of the *Journal*, Costas Zaverdinos writes:

Regarding Chelmno and the "gas vans," Irving was more explicit: "I have repeatedly allowed that [Jews] were killed in gas vans" — and he included Yugoslavia among the places where such vans were used. A dramatic moment in the proceedings came when Irving was shown a document describing the gassing of 97,000 Jews in Chelmno "gas vans." Although he claimed to have first seen this document only five or six months earlier, he accepted it as genuine. It showed "systematic, huge scale, [sic] using gas trucks to murder Jews."

As [Deborah Lipstadt's attorney] Rampton put it in his closing speech: "Mr. Irving has been driven, in the face of overwhelming evidence presented by Professor Robert Jan van Pelt, Professor Christopher Browning and Dr. Longerich, to concede that there were indeed mass murders on a huge scale by means of gassing at Chelmno in the Warthegau and at the Reinhardt camps of Belzec, Treblinka, and Sobibor; and even that there were "some gassings" at Auschwitz.

Irving is no Holocaust historian, as he himself admits. Therefore, why did Zaverdinos allow Irving's statements to go unchallenged? And why did the JHR let these statements stand unchallenged?

If there really is substance to Rampton's assertions, particularly about mass murders using gas vans, I'd to know about it. Everything that I can recall reading about "gas vans" in the *Journal* said that there was really nothing to it.

Phil Eversoul
Los Angeles, CA

The narrative and analytical focus of Dr. Zaverdinos's article ("The Rudolf Case, Irving's Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism," JHR, 19, no. 5, pp. 26-61) precluded his criticizing Irving's trial positions at every instance. Nevertheless, his remarks on page 39 take careful issue with Irving on diesel gassings in vans and in the Reinhardt camps. In any case, the evidence for these gassings is even less substantial than that for the alleged Zyklon (cyanide) gassings at Auschwitz and elsewhere. For the most informed and up-to-date analysis of the pitifully scanty evidence, see the articles by Fritz Berg, Ingrid Weckert, and Arnulf Neumaier in German Rudolf's Dissecting the Holocaust, available from IHR for \$55.00 postpaid (foreign orders please add \$1.50 shipping). — Ed.

One Man's Opinion

Regarding Donald Tarter's "Peenemünde and Los Alamos: Two Studies," in the July-August 2000 issue of the *Journal*, on the one hand we have a group of German scientists — the inventors of the V1 and the V2 and the pioneers of the U.S. space program — desperately trying to ensure their country's survival under apocalyptic conditions.

On the other hand, we have a

bunch of sheltered and pampered Jewish scientists in a bucolic setting, hellbent on creating the most murderous weapon the world has ever seen. It is clear to me who the criminals and the heroes of that story are. Bottom line, end of story.

P.G.
Brampton, Ontario
Canada

Desires Debate

I would like to thank you for a magazine which increases in quality with each issue and covers varied issues from a revisionist viewpoint. It has been ten years since I discovered the IHR and its journal, and I admire them more than ever. While not every topic is of interest to me, you are definitely on the right track.

I would like to see a detailed history of Holocaust revisionism, past and present findings, and future prospects. I believe further that the Journal should be a place for discussion and debate between revisionists and establishment historians. Sometimes I get the feeling that the debate is too narrow-minded, even from your point of view. Is a serious interview with a "believer" too much to hope for?

HL
Sweden

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

New!

The Most Important Dissection of the Holocaust Story in Years!

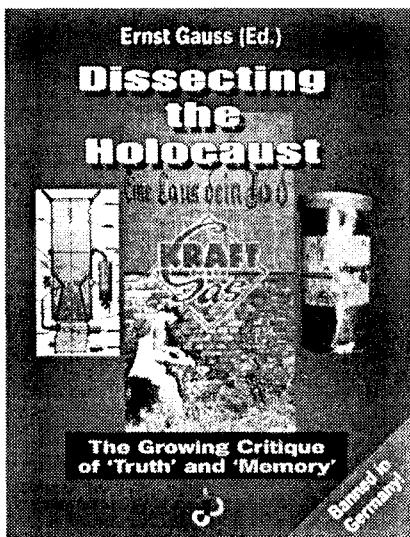
Packed with stunning revelations, this scholarly, attractive and well-referenced work is the best revisionist critique of the Holocaust story to appear in years.

In this big (8 1/2 x 11 inches), illustrated, 600-page collection, 17 specialists — chemists, engineers, geologists, historians and jurists — subject Holocaust claims to withering scrutiny. They expose bogus testimonies, falsified statistics, doctored photos, distorted documents, farcical trials, and technological absurdities. They provide expert examinations of the alleged Holocaust murder weapons: gas vans and gas chambers.

Among the 22 essays in this anthology are:

- Germar Rudolf (E. Gauss), "The Controversy about the Extermination of the Jews."
- Robert Faurisson, Preface and "Witnesses to the Gas Chambers of Auschwitz"
- John C. Ball, "Air Photo Evidence"
- Mark Weber, "'Extermination' Camp Propaganda Myths"
- Friedrich P. Berg, "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth within a Myth"

- Carlo Mattogno, "The Gas Chambers of Majdanek"



- H. Tiedemann, "Babi Yar: Critical Questions and Comments"
- Udo Walendy, "Do Photographs Prove the NS Extermination of the Jews?"

Writes Dr. Arthur R. Butz: "There is at present no other single volume that so provides a serious reader with a broad understanding of the contemporary state of historical issues that influential people would rather not have examined."

It's no wonder that alarmed authorities banned the original German edition, ordering all remaining copies confiscated and burned.

Dissecting the Holocaust is edited by Germar Rudolf ("Ernst Gauss"), a certified chemist, born in 1964, who wrote "The 'Rudolf Report,'" a detailed on-site forensic examination of the "gas chamber" claims of Auschwitz and Birkenau. After a German court sentenced him to 14 months imprisonment, he fled his homeland and has been living ever since in exile as a political refugee. Since 1997, he has been editor of the German-language historical journal *Vierteljahrsschriften für freie Geschichtsforschung*.

DISSECTING THE HOLOCAUST: THE GROWING CRITIQUE OF 'TRUTH' AND MEMORY

Edited by "Ernst Gauss" (Germar Rudolf)

Hardcover. Full color dust jacket. Large-size format. 603 pages.

Photographs. Charts. Source references. Index. (#0319)

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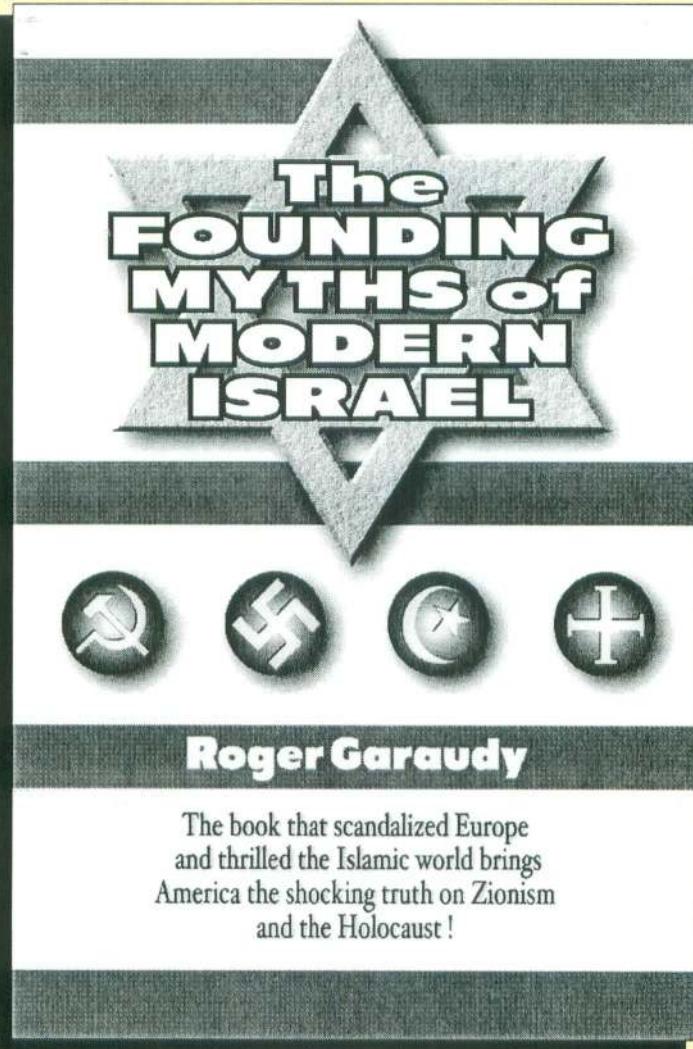
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Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing



how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him \$40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

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The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 20, Number 3

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May/June 2001



— The Anti-Holocaust Intifada —

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Beirut Conference**

**An Interview with
Dr. Ibrahim Alloush**

Appeal to the Arab Leaders

Robert Faurisson

Arab Intellectuals and the Holocaust

Ibrahim Alloush

Seven Months in a German Jail: A Truthseeker's Reckoning

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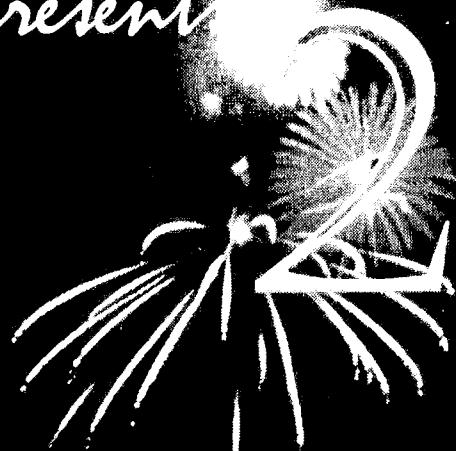
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The Journal of Historical Review

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On the cover: Australian revisionist Fredrick Töben with students of Ferdowsi University, Mashad, Iran, April, 2001.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the revisionist tradition of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier, and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawble on U.S. bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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This issue's cover photo, showing Australian revisionist Dr. Fredrick Töben meeting university students in Iran, expresses themes of travel, discovery, communication, teaching, and learning that have been central to historical revisionism since at least 1926, when revisionism's founding spirit, Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, made his first research and lecture tour of Europe. It also documents a white-hot recent trend: the rapid growth of Holocaust revisionism, fueled by increasing cooperation between Muslim and Western revisionists, across the Islamic world.

As Mark Weber's report on the latest revisionist developments in the Middle East elucidates, the international pressure orchestrated by Jewish groups against last spring's Beirut conference (which the Institute for Historical Review helped organize) has backfired badly. To be sure, diplomatic armtwisting, above all from the U.S. state department, induced the Lebanese government to forbid the gathering, while the circulation of an open letter, signed by fourteen eminent Arab intellectuals, against the Beirut conference provided a fig leaf for the naked intervention of outside forces in Arab affairs. Yet the cancellation of the Beirut conference served only to excite the curiosity of free-minded Arabs about Holocaust revisionism. Next IHR's Open Letter, ably rebutting that of the fourteen submissive savants, and widely published in the Arab world, gave interested Arabs an organizational focus for revisionism, as well as a reasonable, knowledgeable refutation of the slurs on IHR and other revisionists.

The moving spirit behind the first successful organized Arab response to the black-out of Beirut, Ibrahim Alloush, came to revisionism through reading Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths of Modern Israel* (available in the definitive English edition from IHR). A Palestinian Arab of Jordanian citizenship, educated as an economist at American universities, Dr. Alloush made the connection to IHR through the networking of the indefatigable revisionist MacKenzie Paine (whose spirited "Defy the Bully" essays may be accessed through www.vho.org/mlm). This activist Arab intellectual's article and interview reveal a man attuned to Western ideas, but rooted in his Arab, Islamic identity. He writes with frankness and insight on the key importance of revisionism to Arabs, and on the crisis of those Arab intellects who support Zionism, whether from opportunism or alienation. Dr. Alloush also offers some candid (and welcome) advice to Western revisionists.

It is no accident that at the May 13 conference of the Jordanian Writers Association in Amman, Dr. Alloush read at length from Robert Faurisson's planned address to the Beirut conference, or that Dr. Faurisson participated by telephone in a television discussion broadcast across the Arab world shortly afterwards. As Dr. Alloush and other Arab revisionists make clear, the painstaking, meticulous scholarship of researchers like Faurisson and Arthur Butz demonstrates revisionism's substance and refutes its enemies better than any polemic. That Beirut lecture, included in this issue, will endure as a brilliant, outspoken, and uncompromising analysis of the role of revisionism in the Arab struggle.

Fredrick Töben, like Robert Faurisson and many other Holocaust challengers today, embodies another trait that has caught the Middle Eastern imagination: the stubborn refusal to be deterred from speaking what revisionists believe, after diligent search, to be the facts. Dr. Töben, a trained philosopher who lives as philosophers were once supposed to, describes his quest for truth and justice in today's Germany, and the injustice and loss of freedom that search cost him. Then Robert Faurisson weaves a modern tale à la Andersen and Voltaire out of the rich fabric of Töben's exploits and the frailest thread of the Holocaust cult.

This issue contains as well Samuel Crowell's remarkably concessive review of Jan Gross' *Neighbors*, which finds that Gross' attempts to call Poles to self-examination over their treatment of Jews in the Second World War fall flat on his own (unexamined) Jewish chauvinism. Scott Smith's in-depth look at the movie *Pearl Harbor* — by now an economic and artistic flop — examines the ways in which today's Hollywood bends historical truth by distortion and omission.

Many readers won't fail to note the different spellings of Holocaust/"Holocaust" specified by our authors, or the occasional toughness of language in denoting "Jews" as a collective. While your editor prefers, in the liberal Western tradition, to keep responsibility personal, the seldom challenged claims of Jewish entities to act for Jewry as a whole, as well as their penchant for collective indictments of non-Jewish nations and religions, counsel a certain realism. In any case, the *Journal* will continue to adhere to the same openness on these and other revisionist issues as is evident in the closing exchange between Crowell and Jürgen Graf on the fate of the Hungarian Jews.

— Theodore J. O'Keefe

An Anti-Holocaust Intifada Grows among the Arabs

At a time when Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation is stiffening and the brutality of Zionist oppression is becoming ever more obvious, Holocaust revisionism is catching fire across the Arab world. "The trend among public opinion in the Arab world today," one prominent Arab journalist recently wrote, "whether we like it or not — is to question the veracity of the accepted wisdom about the extent of the killing of Jews by the Nazis."¹

An influential Israeli-American journalist, Yossi Klein Halevi, while predictably misrepresenting Arab attitudes toward the Holocaust, and exaggerating Arab sympathies for Hitler, agrees on the rise of revisionism among Arabs:

The Arab world has become obsessed with the Holocaust, and two camps have emerged. One camp, which includes the government-controlled newspapers of Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian Authority, argues that the Holocaust never happened; the other camp, which includes at least one government newspaper in Egypt, acknowledges that the Holocaust did happen and is grateful to Hitler for implementing it.

Indeed, nowhere except in the Arab world is both Holocaust denial and admiration for the Final Solution as mainstream, including among intellectuals.... Hiri Manzour [Khairi Mansur], columnist for the Palestinian Authority-controlled newspaper *Al Hayat al Jadida*, April 13: "The figure of six million Jews cremated in the Nazi Auschwitz camps is a lie for propaganda."²

Elli Wohlgelernter, writing in the *Jerusalem Post*, similarly lamented the growing acceptance of Holocaust revisionism. In an article littered with factual errors, Elli dismissed revisionist scholars as "deniers" who claim "that Chelmno, Dachau and Auschwitz were merely disinfection sites."³ Referring to Deborah Lipstadt, the well-known Jewish critic of Holocaust revisionism, he wrote:

Her fear for the future are [*sic*] Arab students walking around saying they know there was no Holocaust, because they learned it in their textbooks. "A colleague of mine said: 'The bombs last a minute, and they can do terrible damage. But this stuff is an incendiary device that lasts

generations.'"

Contributing significantly to this trend was the publicity surrounding preparations earlier this year for a four-day conference on Holocaust revisionism and Zionism in Beirut, Lebanon, which the Institute for Historical Review helped to organize and promote. Three influential Jewish groups — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — publicly demanded that Lebanese authorities ban the meeting, and the U.S. government brought covert pressure on Lebanon to ban it.

Shortly before the conference was to begin on March 31, Lebanon's prime minister announced that it would not be permitted. (See the January-February 2001 *Journal*.)

The worldwide media attention paid the Beirut conference, and its cancellation under Zionist and official U.S. pressure, greatly boosted Arab awareness of Holocaust revisionism, including the work and impact of the Institute for Historical Review.

Activism in Jordan

Nowhere has recent support for revisionism been more open and ardent than in Jordan, where the Jordanian Writers Association (JWA) and numerous scholars and journalists have done much to promote awareness of Holocaust deceit. Prominent in this effort has been Dr. Ibrahim Alloush, who is active in the JWA and the Association against Zionism and Racism (AZAR). Dr. Alloush writes a regular column for the popular Jordanian weekly *Assabeel*, and is editor of the Free Arab Voice web site (www.fav.net).

During a packed, standing-room-only AZAR meeting on April 7 in Amman, the Jordanian capital, which had been called to show solidarity with the Palestinian resistance to Zionist occupation, speaker after speaker rose to express support for revisionist historians, and to condemn Arab intellectuals who had called for the banning of the Beirut conference.

The JWA succeeded in holding a meeting devoted to Holocaust revisionism in Amman on May 13. About two hundred persons packed JWA headquarters for the gathering, entitled "What Happened to the Revisionist Historians Conference in Beirut?" This much-anticipated meeting had been postponed twice: once in April after Jordanian authorities expressed concern that it might harm relations with the United States while the country's monarch, King Abdullah, was visiting Wash-

ington, and again earlier in May.

The attendees called on colleagues in other countries to join in supporting the work of revisionist historians in uncovering lies and exaggerations in the Holocaust extermination story. Historical revisionism, explained journalist Hayat Atiyeh in her address to the meeting, is not an ideology but a position, supported by facts and meticulous analyses, about a historical event — “the Holocaust.” Revisionists include Muslims, leftists, Jews, and Christians, she said, and many revisionists have been fined, fired from their jobs, socially ostracized, and even assassinated for their dissident views on the Holocaust. During the 1980s, Atiyeh continued, experts carried out scientific examinations of the alleged gas chambers in which Jews were reportedly killed during the Second World War, and found that they could not have operated as described in the extermination myth.

Another journalist, Arafat Hijazi, noted that Israel’s first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, had used the Holocaust to justify the creation of the “Zionist entity.” Hijazi also told the meeting that Jews had exaggerated the number of their people killed in the Second World War, and misrepresented how they perished.

In his address to the meeting, Ibrahim Alloush quoted at length from a detailed statement by French revisionist Robert Faurisson, that Faurisson had prepared for delivery at the cancelled Beirut conference. (See pages 13-22 in this issue of the *Journal*.)

Zionists, Alloush told the meeting, have succeeded in portraying themselves in Western public opinion as a people who were so victimized in the Holocaust that they practically deserve free license from the West to act with impunity against anyone at any time. The myths of the Holocaust are extremely important to the Zionist movement, Alloush continued, explaining that Jewish claims about unique persecution and systematic extermination during the war are used to justify a need for their own safe haven in Israel. This myth basically provides a justification for the rape of Palestine, he said.

“In human history, the argument of the uniqueness of Jewish deaths provides a justification for Israel and the Zionist movement to violate every ethical and legal code in the book, and to persecute opponents, like the revisionist historians and the Arabs, without any reprimand, even with sympathy, from the West,” said Alloush.

Revisionists do not deny that Jews died in the Second World War, Alloush stressed. On the contrary, revi-

sionists affirm “that hundreds of thousands of Jews died, along with the forty-five million who perished in that war.” Revisionist scholars apply science to prove that gas chambers were not used to exterminate Jews systematically, he continued. Crematories, on the other hand, were used to “dispose of the corpses of people of different nationalities to circumvent plagues.”

News reports and commentary on the May 13 JWA meeting appeared in many newspapers, and Zionist groups, including the influential Simon Wiesenthal Center and the Anti-Defamation League, were quick to denounce the conference. Extensive videotaped portions of the JWA meeting were broadcast on June 30 and again on July 2 on Lebanon’s Hezbollah satellite television channel “Al Manar.”

On June 20 the Free Arab Voice distributed by e-mail an editorial essay, “The Modern Relevance of Nazi-Zionist Cooperation,” along with “Zionism and the Third Reich,” an article by Mark Weber reprinted from the July-August 1993 *Journal of Historical Review*.

IHR Open Letter

In a statement issued in mid-March, fourteen prominent Arab writers called on authorities in Lebanon to ban the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference in Beirut. But the widely publicized declaration soon proved something of an embarrassment for at least two of its backers. Edward Said, a prominent Palestine-born scholar who teaches at Columbia University in New York City, repudiated the statement two weeks later, saying that he had been deceived about its content. In a semi-public letter, he explained that he had never, in fact, approved any call to ban the conference. Another signer, Elias Khoury, expressed embarrassment that Israel’s ambassador to France publicly praised the Arab intellectuals’ statement. A third signer, Mahmoud Darwish, publicly repudiated the statement on July 15.

The IHR responded to the statement with an “Open Letter to 14 Arab Intellectuals” (see pages 6-7 in this issue of the *Journal*). Written by IHR director Mark Weber, and headed “No to Censorship!, No to Bigotry!,” it has been widely published in the Arab world. It appeared in the Saudi Arabian daily paper *Al Watan*, April 25, in *Al Arab Al Yowm*, one of Jordan’s three major daily newspapers, May 8, and in the influential Beirut daily paper *An Nahar*, May 9. It was also published in Arabic in the Jordanian weekly *Assabeel*, April 25-30, one of the country’s largest-circulation magazines, and in the Kuwaiti weekly magazine *Al-*

Mujtamaa, May 26. The IHR Open Letter also appeared in at least two on-line Arab periodicals, *Al-Jazeera* and *Al Shaab*. (The IHR's Open Letter is posted on the "Beirut 2001" section of the IHR web site, along with numerous press reports on the on-going Middle East struggle for revisionism.)

Television Breakthrough

On the evening of May 15, coincidentally the fifty-third anniversary of the founding of Israel, Holocaust revisionism was the subject of the popular current affairs show, *Opposite Directions*, broadcast on the Arabic-language satellite television channel "Al Jazeera." Free of government control or censorship, this independent channel is well regarded across the Arab world, reaching some thirty million viewers from Morocco to Bahrain.

Representing the anti-revisionist view on the live, two-hour show was a Tunisian intellectual who lives in Paris, Al Afif Lakhdar, who defended the March statement by the fourteen Arab intellectuals. The show's main revisionist speaker was Hayat Atiyeh, who had addressed the May 13 JWA meeting in Amman. She spoke effectively, making her points with lucid arguments and convincing references. Displaying photographs of Palestinian victims of Zionist oppression, she told viewers: "This is the real holocaust. The other one is a fake." Atiyeh also showed a photograph of Robert Faurisson after a nearly fatal attack against him by Jewish thugs, as well as photos of an attack against a book store in Paris that sold revisionist books.

Ibrahim Alloush participated by telephone, explaining the importance of revisionism to Arabs. Also joining the discussion by telephone, Robert Faurisson deftly rebutted Lakhdar's argument that Arabs would lose support in the United States and Europe if they embraced Holocaust revisionism. "If you want to avoid any trouble with Zionists," said Faurisson, "surely it is better to forget about discussing the Holocaust."

During the broadcast, viewers were invited to respond to an on-line poll on the "Al Jazeera" web site. Viewers could respond affirmatively to one of three questions:

1. Do you think that Zionism is worse than Nazism?
2. Do you think that Zionism is the same as Nazism?
3. Do you think that Zionism is better than Nazism (not as bad)?

The results, made public at the conclusion of the broadcast, showed that more than 84 percent thought

that Zionism is worse than Nazism, over 11 percent think that Zionism is the same as Nazism, and only 2.7 percent think that Zionism is better, or not as bad, as Nazism.

As even the show's moderator declared, the broadcast was a resounding victory for the revisionists.

A Legacy of Skepticism

In spite of the worldwide, decades-long Holocaust campaign, enforced in several European countries with laws that criminalize "Holocaust denial," millions of people around the world have never accepted the claim of six million Jewish wartime victims. Thirty-seven years ago, for example, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser said in an interview that "No one, not even the simplest man in our country, takes seriously the lie about six million murdered Jews."⁴

In 1996-1998 this skepticism was manifest in an outpouring of support, especially from Arab and Muslim countries, for French scholar Roger Garaudy when he was indicted and then punished for daring to challenge Holocaust claims in his book on *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*. Mohamed Heikal, for decades perhaps the most influential journalist in the Arab world, endorsed the revisionist view of the Holocaust issue in his foreword to the Arabic edition of Garaudy's controversial book.⁵

As the growing trend among the Arabs suggests, popularly and scholarly revisionist rejection of the Holocaust is going to play an increasing role in the moral and intellectual struggle against Zionism, Israel, and their founding myths.

Notes

1. Rami Khouri, a Palestinian journalist based in Amman and former editor of the Jordan Times, in "A View from the Arab World," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 22, 2001, p. A15.
2. Yossi Klein Halevi, "Dance of Death Overtakes the Arab World," *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 2001.
3. Elli Wohlgelernter, "In a State of Denial," *Jerusalem Post*, June 12, 2001.
4. Nasser interview with the *Deutsche (Soldaten und-) National-Zeitung* (Munich), May 1, 1964, p. 3. Quoted in: Robert S. Wistrich, *Hitler's Apocalypse* (London: 1985), p. 188.
5. "Heikal's Foreword to the Arabic Edition of Garaudy's Founding Myths," *Journal of Historical Review*, November-December 2000, pp. 30-35.

No to Censorship! No to Bigotry!

An Open Letter to Fourteen Arab Intellectuals

April 10, 2001

To:

Adonis (Ali Ahmad Said)
Mahmoud Darwish
Mohammed Harbi
Elias Khoury
Gerard Khoury
Salah Stetie
Mohamad Berada
Jamel Eddine Ben Sheikh
Edward W. Said
Dominique Edde
Fayez Mallas
Farouk Mardam-Bey
Khalida Said
Elias Sanbar

Recently you issued a public statement calling on authorities in Lebanon to ban the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference in Beirut, scheduled for March 31 through April 3, which our Institute had been helping to organize. (This was reported, for example, in *Le Monde*, March 16.)

Your call came shortly after three major Jewish-Zionist organizations — the World Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League and the Simon Wiesenthal Center — denounced the meeting and demanded that Lebanon forbid it. Not surprisingly, Israel’s ambassador in France publicly praised your statement.

Together with the United States and other foreign governments, these three Jewish groups put pressure on Lebanon to ban the four-day meeting. In response, Lebanon’s prime minister announced on March 22 that the “Revisionism and Zionism” conference would not be permitted.

Your call to Lebanese authorities to forbid a peaceful, privately-organized meeting of scholars, writers and researchers that would be perfectly legal in most countries, including the United States, is a blow against the cause of freedom, peace and justice.

You condemned the conference before knowing anything about the content of the lectures or, apparently, even the identities of the speakers.

Your statement insultingly implies that Lebanese lack the discernment to make an intelligent, informed

decision on their own about 20th century history. Everyone should have the right to make an informed decision about revisionist arguments. There should not be one standard of free speech in most of the world’s nations, and another, inferior one for Arabs.

You justified your call for censorship by claiming that our conference would be “anti-Semitic.” This is pathetic, considering how readily defenders of the Zionist state have hurled this cheap epithet at those who oppose Israel’s criminal policies.

For more than 20 years our Institute has consistently opposed bigotry, censorship and repression in striving to promote greater historical awareness.

Speakers at our meetings and contributors to our *Journal of Historical Review* have included respected scholars from around the world, including Palestinian historian Issa Nahkleh, author of the two-volume *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, and Sami Hadawi, author of *Bitter Harvest: Palestine 1914-1979*.

Other IHR conference speakers have included Pulitzer-prize-winning American historian John Toland, author of several best-selling works of history; John Bennett, noted Australian civil liberties attorney and president of the Australian Civil Liberties Union; and former U.S. Congressman Paul “Pete” McCloskey.

The IHR publishes an authoritative English-language edition of *The Founding Myths of Modern Israel*, the powerful exposé by French scholar Roger Garaudy that has earned praise from across the Arab world.

Is it your view that such individuals should not be permitted to speak anywhere, or just not in Lebanon, or just not at a meeting organized by the IHR? Is your call for censorship limited to Lebanon, or may we expect calls from you to ban similar meetings in France, Canada, the United States, and other countries? Consistent with your call to ban the “Revisionism and Zionism” meeting, may we now expect your support for censorship of revisionist books, magazines and broadcasts?

We are proud of the backing we have received from people of the most diverse political views and ethnic and religious backgrounds. At the 13th IHR Conference held last May in southern California, a featured speaker was John Sack, who is Jewish. A report by this veteran American journalist and author based on his participation in our three-day meeting appeared in the February 2001 issue of *Esquire* magazine. Rejecting the often-repeated lie that the IHR and the revisionists are “haters” or bigots, Sack described those who spoke at and attended the IHR conference as “affable, open-

minded, intelligent [and] intellectual." He also affirmed that numerous revisionist arguments and findings are, indeed, true.

Around the world awareness is growing that the Holocaust campaign is a major weapon in the Jewish-Zionist arsenal, that it is used to justify otherwise unjustifiable Israeli policies, and as a powerful tool for blackmailing enormous sums of money from Americans and Europeans. Even a few courageous Jewish writers have spoken out against what they call the "Holocaust cult," the "Holocaust racket," "Holocaustomania," and the "Holocaust industry."

In working to promote greater public awareness of history, the IHR has pointed out that Jewish-Zionist distortions of the past are not confined to the history of Palestine and the Middle East, but include historical lies about 20th century European history. Palestinians may be the most obvious victims today of Jewish-Zionist lies about history, but they are by no means alone. Millions of Europeans have also been victims of similar distortions of the past, most notably through the Holocaust campaign. But we must reject all such historical lies, rooted as they are in contempt for non-Jewish humanity, whether about the Middle East or Europe or the United States.

If the revisionist view of the Holocaust were really as simplistic and mistaken as our critics suggest, it would not have gained the support of university professors such as Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson, historians such as Roger Garaudy and Harry Elmer Barnes, and former concentration camp inmates such as Paul Rassinier. These individuals did not decide publicly to reject the orthodox Holocaust story — thereby risking public censure, and worse — because they are fools, or

because their motives are evil, but rather on the basis of a sincere and thoughtful evaluation of the evidence.

Instead of endorsing a statement that only serves Israel and Zionist interests, you should be speaking out on behalf of the victims of bigotry and oppression.

In a number of countries, those who dispute Holocaust claims are treated as criminals — fined and imprisoned for their non-violent views, even for statements that are demonstrably true. Moreover, numerous revisionists have been physically attacked for their views. One was murdered. Even here in the United States, revisionists have been beaten, assaulted and blacklisted. Our Institute has repeatedly been a target of hate and violence. In July 1984 our offices were burned down in a devastating arson attack, a crime for which no one was ever arrested.

In 1980, Jewish-American scholar Noam Chomsky showed great courage in publicly defending free speech for Holocaust skeptics. In spite of intense criticism, he never repudiated that stand — which is, of course, the only ethically defensible one that an honest intellectual can take. Now, some 21 years later, you have shamefully lent your names to a call for state repression of dissident historians.

Coming to grips with history, even with the emotion-laden Holocaust issue, demands open, reasoned debate, not name-calling and censorship. Your contemptible support for censorship of revisionist scholars will be remembered as a blot on your reputations.

We ask you to reconsider it.

Sincerely,

Mark Weber

Director, Institute for Historical Review

INTERVIEW



A Conversation with Dr. Ibrahim Alloush

Ibrahim Alloush is a journalist and university lecturer in Amman, Jordan. A regular columnist for the weekly Jordanian newspaper Assabeel, he is active in the Jordanian Writers and in the Association against Zionism and Racism (AZAR). He is also editor of the Free Arab Voice web site (www.fav.net). Dr. Alloush lived for thirteen years in the United States. He earned graduate degrees at Ohio University and Oklahoma State University, where

he earned a doctorate in economics. In his student days in America, he supported himself partly by "flipping burgers, mopping floors, and delivering pizza."

EDITOR: Nearly a decade ago the Moroccan revisionist Ahmed Rami said that in proselytizing Muslims, Holocaust revisionists were pushing on an open door. In other words, Muslims already mistrusted everything Jews and Zionists said and did—so why make an exception for the Holocaust hoax? Was Rami correct? If so,

why have Arabs and Muslims recently begun to investigate and reject the Holocaust imposture?

IBRAHIM ALLOUSH: Of course, the Arab public is distrustful of anything the Zionists say or do, and of the Western media in general. However, distrust in and of itself cannot be a satisfactory political defense. Distrust in this context means two specific things: 1) that Zionists and the Western media would have a hard time convincing Arabs of the "Holocaust," and 2) that revisionists would have an easier time with the Arab public than with the Western public. But distrust doesn't mean that the Arab public is forever immune to the myths of the "Holocaust," or that revisionists need not work to bring revisionism to the Arabs.

Many revisionists are jubilant because in the last few months their cause, work, and struggles have been relatively well publicized in the Arab world. Nevertheless, there is a negative aspect to this development as well. In the past several months, we have discovered that the mythology of the "Holocaust" has made far-reaching inroads among Arab intellectuals at the highest levels, and that this mythology has established solid footholds amongst Arabs living in the West and among westernized Arabs in the Arab world. This is a very dangerous development. It arose in the atmosphere of defeatism that prevailed throughout the Arab world in the 1990s, an atmosphere that formed the backdrop for efforts to Zionize the Arab mind by, among other things, spreading the myths of the "Holocaust."

Thus, strategically speaking, Arabs are now on the defensive, if one looks beyond the recent progress of revisionism in the Arab world. You have prominent Arab intellectuals now actively proclaiming the "Holocaust" religion from the rooftops: this would have been unimaginable not long ago. You have the largest circulating Arab daily, *Al Hayat* of London, actively spreading "Holocaust" myths: until recently this would have been unimaginable. You have Arab governments succumbing to Zionist pressures to ban revisionist conferences: earlier this would have been unimaginable, if only out of concern for their popular image.

Surely, there is still a great deal of distrust towards anything Zionist in the Arab world, as far as the average citizen is concerned. But that is not enough. Without more sophisticated defenses, i.e., without historical revisionism, the campaign to Zionize the Arab mind is likely to gain even more ground. Distrust cannot possibly substitute for serious political or historical educa-

tion. This is even more relevant nowadays, since the Zionists choose to speak through the voices of certain prominent Arab intellectuals. What we need therefore is a coherent, principled, cognizant response to the campaign to Zionize the Arab mind. Therein lies the promise of historical revisionism for us Arabs, and the importance of the work of revisionists like Ahmed Rami and his colleagues.

After consolidating their gains in the West, the Zionists have essentially succeeded in bringing the battle to the Arab collective psyche through such Trojan horses as the fourteen Arab intellectuals who signed the petition to ban the conference on "Zionism and Revisionism" in Beirut. When persons such as Edward Said and Mahmoud Darwish, who occupy so estimable a stature in the Arab intellectual realm, openly embrace the religion of the "Holocaust," this means that the cancer of the "Holocaust" has metastasized outside the West. We cannot rely only on natural Arab defenses, as strong as these may be, to fight this cancer. We must resort to more conscious means of resistance, hence, historical revisionism.

On the other hand, the above analysis would be incomplete if it were not pointed out that those Arabs who embrace the "Holocaust" have lost significant political credit in the last few months, in exact proportion to the ascendancy of revisionism in the Arab world. These people have chosen to become the purveyors of an intellectual virus naturally rejected by the Arab mind. By so doing, they have either risked self-alienation by sincerely embracing the "Holocaust," or have lost a great deal of respect by seeming to espouse the "Holocaust" for opportunistic reasons. In this context, please be aware that certain Arabs who are spreading the "Holocaust" myths welcome direct attacks from revisionists or other Arabs, since they hope to use such attacks for benefits and privileges from the West and the Zionists.

EDITOR: How did you first encounter Holocaust revisionism?

ALLOUSH: My first encounter with it was through Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths*, then through hearing a couple of lectures by Pierre Guillaume. In this regard, I would like to make a point about how revisionists operate. The most important revisionist works are volumes written in abstruse language that is difficult for the average person, whether in the West or in the Arab world. We should learn from what Roger Garaudy

did in *Founding Myths*. Painstaking research findings are not enough: revisionist findings should be popularized in pamphlets and articles directed to the average person, who has neither the time nor the background to delve into thick volumes. The research findings of historical revisionism can only become politically effective if they reach the people. Therefore, revisionist work should proceed along two parallel lines: the serious academic work of debunking the “Holocaust” myths, and the even more important work of popularizing revisionism. A division of labor is needed. The way in which Roger Garaudy’s book was received shows the need for popular revisionism. He was not the foremost revisionist historian, but he was able to popularize revisionism in the Arab world, because he was able to simplify revisionism and to connect it to current political events.

The other lesson from the experience of the Garaudy book lies in recognizing the relevance of revisionism beyond its traditional boundaries. Since revisionism is not an ideology, but a method of historical research, it is crucial that revisionism obtain spokespersons from across the ideological spectrum, from the extreme left to the extreme right. As a Muslim, Roger Garaudy was able to reach many who were inaccessible to revisionists before. Now revisionists may revise the Second World War out of different ideological motives, but they all abide by a certain scientific logical structure in their work. What I am suggesting here is that efforts be made to reach people from different continents, races, and ideological affiliations. For example, in the Arab world, many supporters of revisionism are leftists. For them, the myths of the “Holocaust” are associated with rationalizing Zionist and imperialist hegemony in the Arab world, and exposing the “Holocaust” is associated with resisting that hegemony. To be sure, there are many leftists, Muslims, Catholics, Jews, et al. amongst revisionists already. However, these elements are overshadowed by a myth that Zionists spread about revisionists: that they are all Nazi sympathizers seeking to justify Nazi crimes. More efforts need to be made to speak to each people in its own idiom, just as the Zionists do. I, for one, consider myself totally opposed to any form of racism and racialist ideology, including Nazism. Yet it is precisely that perspective which makes me oppose the most important form of racism and racist ideology prevailing in the world today: Zionism. As one of the ideological bulwarks of Zionist power, the “Holocaust” must be exposed. I should add that many

of those who claim to be anti-Nazi have colonial and racist track records that surpass that of the Nazis by any objective standard. Furthermore, many use the banner of anti-Nazism today to spread their colonial tentacles across the globe, and that is the more current threat: Zionism and racism hiding behind the banner of anti-Nazism.

EDITOR: What was your initial opinion of Holocaust revisionism?

ALLOUSH: It introduced me to a new aspect of the Arab-Zionist conflict, and, more important, it helped me understand much better why public opinion in the West supports Zionists and ignores Palestinian suffering. I realized that those times I had seen the “Holocaust” brought up to eclipse Palestinian Arab suffering at the hands of Zionists were part of a central Zionist strategy, not mere aberrations or excesses of misguided souls.

Of course, I have learned a lot more, especially in the last few months. But there is still so much more to learn. I have been especially intrigued by the ideological variety among revisionists. I think this variety should be highlighted, not suppressed, because it dispels the myth that revisionists are a monolithic group of Nazi sympathizers.

EDITOR: What are the most common objections among Arabs to Holocaust revisionism?

ALLOUSH: Some of the most common objections to revisionism in the Arab world arise out of considerations of political expediency. These objections typically come in the form of the claim that “Holocaust” revisionism alienates public opinion in the West because whether the “Holocaust” is true or not, Westerners believe in it. So we are better off just “going with the flow,” or “getting with the program.” A variation on this is the shrewd political strategy of the ostrich: simply to avoid the subject altogether. “The events of the Second World War are not relevant to us. We don’t want to get into it. Then it will just go away!” Or, in a more sophisticated variation of the ostrich strategy, one that has gained ground recently: “Let’s pay lip service to the myths of the ‘Holocaust’ to avoid trouble, but let’s work as hard as possible to dissociate the ‘Holocaust’ from such political applications as its justifying the settling of alleged ‘Holocaust’ survivors in Palestine, justifying Zionist violations of international law, and justifying Western financial, political, and military support for

the Zionist movement.” This is basically an adaptation of [Norman] Finkelstein’s approach. Predictably, it prompts Arabs to parrot “Holocaust” myths, without necessarily succeeding in dissociating these myths from the political applications which the “Holocaust” was invented to serve. The most frequent objection, however, echoes the cliché that associating with revisionists would stigmatize us as Nazi sympathizers, and thus discredit our cause.

EDITOR: How do you answer these objections?

ALLOUSH: Many of these objections were tackled in recent issues of the Free Arab Voice (www.fav.net). But, very briefly, it should be made clear that revisionists neither deny nor condone the deaths of Jews during the Second World War. However, the “Holocaust” ceased long ago to be about the Jews who died in that war. The “Holocaust” is about Zionist power and policies. As stated, the “Holocaust” myths serve specific objectives: justifying Zionist settlement in Palestine; cultivating a guilt complex in the West over the “Holocaust” as the result of Western anti-Semitism; mobilizing Western public opinion behind financial, political, and military support for the Zionist movement; and condoning Zionist infractions of international law under the pretext that the wartime deaths of the Jews were unique and unparalleled in human history!

The problem, however, is that one cannot separate the “Holocaust” from its political objectives. The “Holocaust” is the ideological arm of the Zionist movement. Given its political power and reach, it has to be confronted. You can yield to it or you can face it down, but you cannot pretend, as some would have us do, that it doesn’t exist. Accepting 1) that five or six million Jews died in the Second World War, 2) as a result of a deliberate Nazi policy of genocide, 3) in alleged gas chambers — the essence of the “Holocaust” accusation, today includes attributing responsibility to the entire non-Jewish world for this allegedly singular event — and accepting, to compensate for it, that the “survivors” deserve a new homeland, that the “Holocaust” can be invoked as an extenuating circumstance every time the Zionists commit crimes against humanity, and so on.

On the other hand, putting the wartime Jewish deaths in the proper context has no such political implications. It should be made clear then that several hundred thousand Jews did die in the Second World War, along with tens of millions of others; that there was no Nazi policy to exterminate the Jews, but rather one of

deportation, including deportation to Palestine; and that there were no gas chambers, but instead crematoria, used to incinerate the bodies of those, of all nationalities and religions, who died from all causes, but chiefly disease. Note that the above, while not condoning Nazi practices — especially, from the Arab standpoint, the deportation of Jews to Palestine — puts the wartime deaths of Jews in proper perspective, and eliminates all political implications with the power of the truth. The Jewish losses were not unique, and didn’t happen in an unprecedented way. They don’t justify a guilt complex in the West, and do not justify any favoritism whatsoever for the Jews. Thus, contrary to the political short-sightedness of those who think that revisionist arguments revolve merely around statistics (refuting the six million figure), the truth about how, how many, and why Jews died in the Second World War can liberate humanity from the extortion of the high priests of the “Holocaust” religion. Until that happens, accepting the received version of the “Holocaust” necessarily implies accepting its political implications. Criticizing the “Holocaust” industry, on the other hand, purports merely to preserve “Holocaust” myths from the excesses of its high priests. It does not deter the Zionist strategy of the “Holocaust” from its political objectives.

EDITOR: What of the accusation that associating with revisionists would stigmatize Arabs as Nazi sympathizers and discredit their cause in the West, especially in the light of the fact that El Haj Amin al Husseini cooperated with Germans?

ALLOUSH: Let’s set the historical record straight. The cooperation between Zionists and Nazis preceded that of El Haj Amin al Husseini with Nazi Germany by many years. In fact, the main purpose of El Haj Amin al Husseini’s contacts with the Germans was to thwart their support for the Zionists. Between 1933 and 1938, the Nazis were on decidedly good terms with the Zionists, as evidenced by the Haavara agreement, which facilitated Jewish immigration to Palestine as well as economic and logistical support through Jewish capital. In 1938, the Nazis decided to take a more balanced approach towards the Arabs, while maintaining their cooperation with the Zionists; El Haj Amin tried to use this opening to put an end to Nazi support for Zionists. Evidently his strategy eventually bore fruit, since Nazi-Zionist cooperation came to an end around 1942. If cooperation with the Nazis is the criterion for con-

demning El Haj Amin, then the Zionists were guiltier by far than El Haj Amin al Husseini. Nazi-Zionist cooperation was the direct precursor of al Husseini's cooperation with the Germans, in addition to British support for the Zionists, of course.

EDITOR: Is there any leader or faction who is or might be most disposed to champion Holocaust revisionism in your part of the world?

ALLOUSH: To the best of my knowledge, most Arab regimes and leaders would not dare embrace "Holocaust" revisionism openly. However, it enjoys a great deal of support among the people, the intellectuals, the activists, and even among officials of Arab regimes, so long as they don't have to profess it openly. When revisionist ideas have been presented, the people have been extremely receptive. The Arab world is fertile ground for revisionist seeds. Still, much work is needed, as mentioned above.

EDITOR: Holocaust revisionism seems to be alive, and growing, among Muslims and Arabs of many nationalities, from Morocco to India, but it would seem that it should be flourishing above all among the Palestinians, who are the chief victims of the Holocaust racket and whose own experiences most parallel those claimed by the Jews. How is Holocaust revisionism faring among Palestinians at home and in exile?

ALLOUSH: If it weren't for a few Palestinian and Arab intellectuals, revisionism would be dominant among Palestinians. In fact, Arabs and Palestinians who embrace "Holocaust" myths in the Arab world do so with a very low profile. In the nineties, Arafat tried to proclaim his belief in the "Holocaust," but everyone, including the Zionists, realized that he was doing so for tactical reasons. There has been one Palestinian political group on the left which seems to be emitting signals indicating its timid embrace of the "Holocaust" religion. I shall refrain from naming this group because it has yet to take a public stand to that effect, although many of its supporters have been criticizing our revisionist efforts. Still, many Palestinians who reside in Western nations have either imbibed the myths of the "Holocaust" wholeheartedly, or simply pay tribute to such myths to avoid clashes with the mainstream.

EDITOR: Based on your own experiences in America as a student and as an academic, do you have any advice for readers of the *Journal* on how best to educate their fellow Americans on the Palestine question and the

Holocaust myth?

ALLOUSH: I think the most important thing for revisionists in the next stage of their work is to shatter the Zionist accusation that the purpose of revisionist work is to whitewash Nazism. They should establish beyond reasonable doubt that the purpose of their work is to promote truth and justice. To accomplish that, they need to reach out to people from across the ideological spectrum, from many races and continents. In addition, as it stands now, revisionism has too many prophets and not enough preachers. The next step will be to popularize revisionism, and to bring it to the non-Western world.

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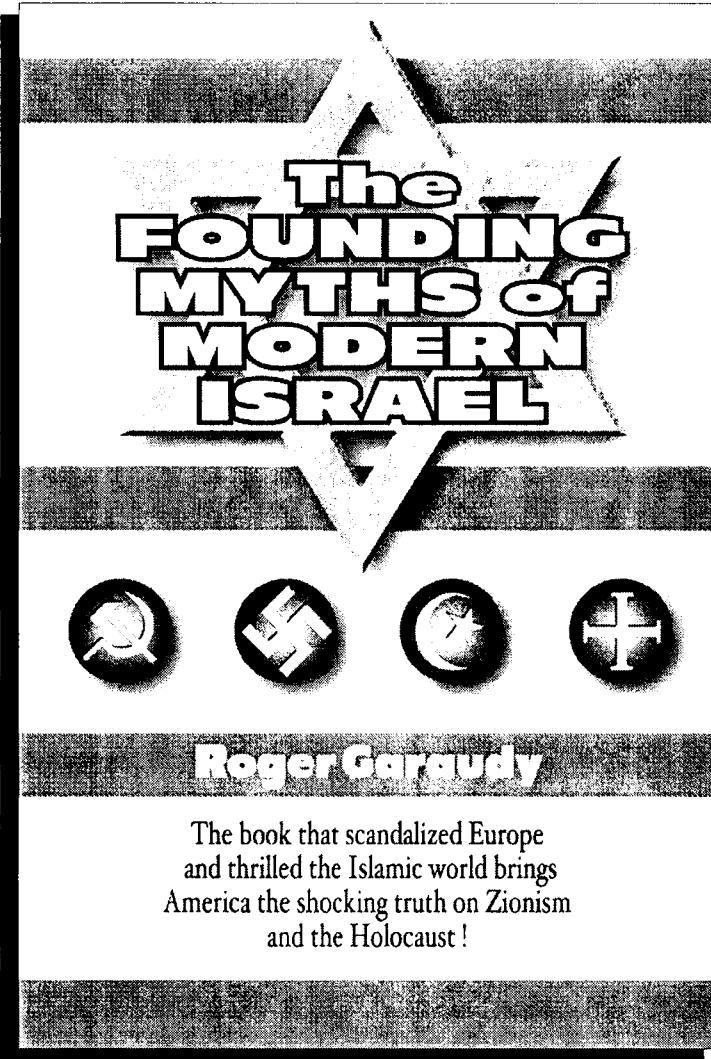
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Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing



how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him \$40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

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It's Time the Arab Leaders Ended Their Silence on the 'Holocaust' Imposture

ROBERT FAURISSON

Five introductory remarks:

1. I do mean "the leaders," and not: "the intellectuals, the academics, the journalists," some of whom have already expressed themselves on the matter;
2. The word "Holocaust" (always to be placed in quotation marks) designates the triple myth of the alleged genocide of the Jews, the alleged Nazi gas chambers, and the alleged number of six million Jewish victims of the Second World War. In the course of a history full of fury, blood, and fire, humanity has known a hundred holocausts, that is, appalling losses of human life or bloody catastrophes (presented, at the origin of the word's use in this manner, as a sort of offering demanded by some superior forces); but our contemporaries have been conditioned to keep in mind only one holocaust, that of the Jews; it is written today with a capital letter, and has become unique: there is no longer the need to add "of the Jews." None of the previous holocausts has given rise to any financial indemnity, reparation, or compensation to match that which the Jews have claimed and obtained for

a catastrophe, or "Shoah," which they describe as unique and unprecedented, and which would indeed be so if its three components (genocide, Nazi gas chambers, and six million victims) had been real. If many European Jews suffered and died during the war, without that suffering amounting to what today's Jews mean by the term "Holocaust," many other peoples and communities, in particular the Germans, the Japanese, the Russians, and the Chinese, suffered, in reality, a fate far worse than that of the Jews; let us but think of the phosphorous- or nuclear-fueled firestorms in which at least a million Germans and Japanese met an atrocious death (and what of the wounded and mutilated?). It is, moreover, fitting to add that millions of European Jews survived this alleged policy of physical extermination to go on to enjoy, after the war, a power and a prosperity without precedent in their history. To privilege, as is thus done nowadays, the alleged "Holocaust" is to inflate Jewish suffering beyond all measure in both quality and quantity and to reduce, in direct proportion, the

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, educated at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson taught at the University of Lyon from 1974 until 1990. Specializing in close textual analysis, Faurisson won widespread acclaim for his studies of poems by Rimbaud and Lautréamont. After years of private research and study, Faurisson revealed his skepticism of the "Holocaust" gas chambers in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. He has written numerous articles on all aspects of the "Holocaust," many of which have appeared in this journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.

This article is slightly adapted from Dr. Faurisson's lecture for delivery to the projected March 2001 Beirut conference on revisionism and Zionism, which was cancelled by the Lebanese government under Jewish pressure.

- suffering of all others, none of whose ordeals receives even so much as a specific name;
3. Imposture is an imposed lie; here it is a question of a historical lie, meaning that, forged by liars or fabricators of outlandish tales, it has subsequently been adopted by an ever-expanding number of people who, in good faith or bad, have peddled it; in the event, we are thus dealing with a tiny number of liars and a plethora of peddlers;
 4. The opposite of such a lie, fabricated or peddled, is the factual truth. Still, as the word "truth" is vague and overused, I prefer "exactitude." Revisionism consists in trying to examine and correct what is generally accepted, with a view to establishing with exactitude the nature of an object; the reality of a fact; the worth of a figure; the authenticity, the veracity, and the import of a text or document;
 5. Zionism is an ideology, while revisionism is a method. As a revisionist I shall be making a judgment less of Zionism itself (at the dawn of the twenty-first century) than on the use which it makes of the "Holocaust" imposture.

If the leaders of the Muslim states planned to quit their silence on this imposture and if, in so doing, they put a challenge to the Jewish and Zionist lobby, they would obviously need first a) to assess the adversary correctly, then b) to decide on an appropriate strategy and, finally, c) to determine the exact area on which to concentrate their attacks. To discuss these three points, I shall divide my talk into three parts.

In a first part, in order to avoid any mistakes as to the opponents' identity and to ensure that they are correctly sized up, I shall expound on what are, in my view, the seeming weak points of the Jews and Zionists, then on their true weak points. In a second part, concerning the strategy to adopt, I shall sum up certain conclusions that I reached, in November 2000, during my visit to Teheran, in the company of representatives of the Center of Strategic Studies of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Finally, in a third part, I shall designate the precise target to hit: "the magical Nazi gas chamber" (as Louis-Ferdinand Céline put it).

I. The Jewish and Zionist Adversary

A deceitful adversary may display fears that he does not really feel. He may expose to the view of all certain weak points which in fact are not such and try to hide what it is that causes him real disquiet. In so doing he will be attacked where it does not bother him in the least, and be spared an attack that would truly do him

harm. Here, the adversary is almost indifferently Jewish or Zionist. The Jews are undeniably diverse ("Two Jews, three synagogues," says the Yiddish proverb) and, politically speaking, they have never formed a single bloc; not even against Hitler; but, without Jews, there is no Zionism ("Zionism is to the Jew what the hammer is to the carpenter," as Ahmed Rami thinks) and, except for some rare instances, the Jew will feel solidarity with the Zionist and the Zionist with the Jew if both notice that their common "Holocaust" myth is in peril; this is why the distinction that usually deserves to be made between the two hardly belongs here.

a) The adversary's false fears and seeming weak points:

1. Despite their display of fear of a military attack on the state of Israel, the Zionists who rule that state and the Diaspora Jews who support them do not really dread the enemy's military strength, for they know that the enemy in question will always be outclassed by the Israeli army, thanks to the technology and money supplied from abroad, especially by the Americans and the Germans;
2. They do not really fear the variety of anti-Judaism improperly called anti-Semitism; on the contrary, they feed on it; they need to be able to cry out against anti-Semitism, if only to collect more money in the Diaspora; in general, moaning is of vital necessity to them: "The more I sob, the more I get; the more I get, the more I sob";
3. Jews and Zionists are not really afraid of the Jewish denunciations of "Shoah business" and the "Holocaust industry" made by the Peter Novicks, Tim Coles, or Norman Finkelsteins, for there it is a matter, paradoxically, of more or less kosher denunciations in which care is taken to show reverence for the "Holocaust" itself; it will be noted, moreover, that if the industrial or commercial exploitation of the real or supposed sufferings of the Jews constitutes a lucrative line of business, criticism of this exploitation has over the last few years become another such line; but these two lines of business, especially the latter, happen to be strictly reserved for Jews; they are "off limits," and a Gentile who ventured to imitate Finkelstein in his denunciation of the "Holocaust" mafia would immediately be set upon by a pack of its watchful henchmen;
4. They do not really fear anti-Zionism as such; at times they even authorize its expression;
5. In particular, they have not much cause to worry about a now commonplace form of anti-Semitism which consists in attacking all of the founding

- myths of Israel except that which has become essential for them: the “Holocaust”;
6. They need not be anxious about accusations of racism, imperialism, and Judeo-Nazism since such accusations, even if at times founded, resemble ritual, mechanically uttered slogans, coined in outdated language. To see the Jews being compared to Hitler, then hear it said that the Zionists are, like the Nazis, carrying out a policy of “genocide” is not altogether disagreeable to the Jews and Zionists, for it serves to reinforce the images of Hitler and the Nazis that they themselves have succeeded in fabricating; this helps them to fix firmly in all minds the illusion, first and foremost, of a “genocide” of the Jews. In reality, Hitler was no more a monster, as his Jewish enemies claim, than was Napoleon an “ogre,” as English propaganda used to have it. Although a racialist, and hostile to internationalist Jews (but not to Zionist ones), Hitler never ordered or allowed the killing of anyone on account of his or her race or religion; moreover, his military tribunals or courts martial meted out sentences — sometimes the death sentence — to German soldiers, officers, or civil servants who had been found guilty of killing a single Jewish man or woman (even in regard to acts committed, during the war, in Poland, Russia, or Hungary); here is a point of history that has been shrouded by the exterminationist historians and regrettably overlooked by revisionist authors. If Hitler had been such a monstrous racist as described, never would so prestigious an Arab and Muslim personality as the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (the Palestinian Haj Amin al Husseini) have remained on his side until the end. Despite the episode of the Germano-Soviet pact (August 1939-June 1941), Hitler was essentially hostile to Stalinism and to what he called, because of the decisive Jewish contribution to Bolshevism, “Judeo-Bolshevism.” The German soldier, like the European, Russian, Asian, or Muslim volunteer who fought beside him, had but Moscow-style Communism as his essential enemy;
 7. Although they pretend the contrary, the Jews and Zionists laugh — not without reason — at those who talk of a “Jewish plot” or a “conspiracy of Auschwitz,” since there is no “Jewish plot” (any more than a Masonic, Jesuit, papal, American, or Communist plot) but a Jewish power, or influence; in the same manner, there is no “Auschwitz conspiracy” but rather an Auschwitz lie; incidentally, ideas of plot or conspiracy, dear to the Jewish tradi-

tion, ought to remain the privilege of the latter; we should be wrong to turn to them.

- b) The adversary's true fears and actual weak points:
1. In Israel-Palestine, Jews and Zionists truly fear the weapons of the poor (children's stones, their slingshots like that of David against the giant Goliath, the suicide attacks), and all that may endanger persons and business; they fear a demeaning of their image; they dread having to choose one day between the suitcase and the coffin;
 2. But they are above all apprehensive of “the poor man's atomic bomb,” that is, the disintegration, by historical revisionism, of the lie of the gas chambers, the genocide, and the six million; they dread this weapon that kills no one but that would not fail, if properly used, to explode their Big Lie like a bag of hot air;
 3. They fear seeing revealed before the eyes of the world that it is the imposture of the “Holocaust” that permitted, in the wake of the Second World War, the creation in the land of Palestine of a Jewish colony called Israel, and this at a time when, throughout the globe (except in the Communist empire), a gigantic decolonization movement was well under way;
 4. They know that to lose the “Holocaust” is to lose the sword and the shield of Israel as well as a formidable instrument of political and financial blackmail; Yad Vashem, which, in Jerusalem, is a “Holocaust” memorial and museum all in one (now undergoing expansion), is still more precious to them than the Wailing Wall; every foreign personality who visits Israel for political or financial dealings is, before all other business, obliged to call at this museum of horrors so as to be well imbued with a feeling of guilt which will render him more malleable; sometimes there is a dispensation from this formality for representatives of those rare nations which the Jews and Zionists, try as they might, cannot rebuke for an active or passive role in the alleged “Holocaust”; it is then amusing to notice the Israeli officials complaining about the difficulty in dealing with partners whom they have not been able to condition beforehand;
 5. They are aware that “were the Holocaust shown to be a hoax, the number one weapon in Israel's propaganda armory disappears [sic]” (letter of W. D. Rubinstein, professor at Deakin University, Melbourne, in *Nation Review*, June 21, 1979, p. 639);
 6. They know only too well of “the fact that, if the Holocaust can be shown to be a ‘Zionist myth,’ the



Haj Amin al Husseini (1895-1974) was the most important Palestinian leader of the first half of the twentieth century. Elected mufti of Jerusalem, the chief Muslim office in Palestine, in 1922, Amin defended his people against British colonial rule and Zionist incursions. After leading a Palestinian revolt against Britain's pro-Jewish policies, he fled to Lebanon in 1937. The Mufti's cooperation with Germany from late 1941 until the war's end came only after years of Nazi-Zionist collaboration. During this period Amin sought to rally the Arab world against the Allies, and helped enlist Muslim volunteers from the Balkans for the SS. Zionist propaganda continues to promote the lie that the Mufti was a vital cog in the alleged extermination of the Jews.

strongest of all weapons in Israel's propaganda armory collapses" (the same academic in "The Left, the Right and the Jews," *Quadrant*, September 1979, p. 27);

7. They nearly faint at the thought that the general public might finally learn of the sum of iniquities represented by all the purges: the cases brought in the style of the judicial masquerades of Nuremberg; the confessions extorted on the subject of gas chambers or gas vans which had, in fact, never existed; or the further confessions about implausible killings imputed to the Einsatzgruppen; the hunting down of old men, even patients in homes for the aged, more than half a century after their alleged crimes; the indoctrination of all minds, from primary school to university, in books, news-

papers, on radio and television, on every continent, morning, noon, afternoon, evening, night; all this is accompanied by a fierce repression of the revisionists, carried on especially in a Germany subjugated to its conquerors (and with which no peace treaty has yet been signed); these revisionists have committed the awful crime of simply demanding the right to verify either staggering accusations devoid of proof or testimonies received as truthful, albeit in the absence of examination and cross-examination concerning the material nature of the purported facts and without, beforehand, a single investigation of the alleged weapon of the alleged crime;

8. To sum up, the nightmare of these Jews and Zionists would be to have to hear repeated everywhere a

certain sixty-word sentence pronounced on the air more than twenty years ago on Radio Europe 1, before the journalist Yvan Levaï, by a French revisionist, disciple of Paul Rassinier. Here is that sentence which, at the time, was to earn me a heavy fine in a Paris court:

The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which has permitted a gigantic political and financial swindle the main beneficiaries of which are the state of Israel and international Zionism and whose main victims are the German people — but not their leaders — and the Palestinian people in their entirety.

II. How to Wage the Struggle to End This Silence

1. In November 2000, I spent a week in Iran at the invitation of the Center of Strategic Studies, a body directly attached to the office of the president of the Islamic Republic, Mr. Mohammed Khatami. I had no contact with the country's press, radio, or television, but only with a few personalities who were well-informed about revisionism. I delivered no public lecture but enjoyed an interview of several hours with the head of the Institute for Scientific Political Research, Professor Soroush-Nejad, and a few of his colleagues. There again, I was struck by the knowledge of revisionism that certain Iranians could have. At about that time, the Swiss revisionist Jürgen Graf made his appearance in Iran, and I am indeed pleased that, some months later, thanks to his intense activity and to the contacts which I, at my end, had maintained with the Iranian authorities after returning to France, the *Teheran Times* undertook the publication of a series of revisionist articles, the first of which was to bear the signature of Professor Soroush-Nejad.
2. In exchange for the information which I had been able to provide him, I asked my main partner in discussion within the Center why, up to the present, revisionism seemed not to have found much of an echo in the Arab and Muslim countries. He willingly listed eight reasons. Some of these, in light of the quite recent events in Palestine, appeared to each of us, by and by, to be no longer valid; others seemed to be imputable to misunderstandings; other reasons, in the end, unhappily retained all of their force, in particular the follow-

ing: in the Western countries, who ought to preach by example before complaining of the silence of others, there were but a laughably small number of revisionists who had resolutely committed themselves, in their own names and without any reservations or skilful maneuvering, to following the road opened up by Rassinier;

3. I attempted to explain that this deplorable record was largely due to what one must call the fear (*metus Judaeorum*) inspired everywhere by the groaning and threatening Jew (which Cicero felt in 59 B.C.). I added that no political figure of today, be he Iranian, Lebanese, Chinese, or Japanese, could avoid feeling this fear in the face of a community so rich and powerful in the Western world that its leaders have the means with which, at any moment, to invade the media with their grievances and recriminations in order to demand, in the end, the economic boycott of whichever nation's leaders failed to make a rapid enough act of "repentance" or resisted Jewish demands;
4. I then went over the reasons why the leaders of the Muslim states must nonetheless, as a proper policy, quit their silence and how, in my opinion, they could do so. I shall not expound on those reasons here but shall in the following words sum up my feelings as to the path to follow: one or more of these leaders should cross the Rubicon resolutely and, above all, without the least thought of turning back. My long experience of the Jews or Zionists in this regard has convinced me that the hoaxers are disconcerted by the hardness of anyone who dares to confront them in the open. Just as the false witness, if one can catch his glance, must be questioned eye to eye, so must the Edgar Bronfmans, the Elie Wiesels, the Simon Wiesenthals (the latter two hate and envy one another *more Judaico*), or the rabbis Marvin Hier and Abraham Cooper, be defied in direct proportion to their habitual threats;
5. I warned my hosts against the temptation to resort, be it only at the first stages, to a form of bastardized revisionism; here again, experience has proved that wet-dog revisionism leads to defeat. One must also, in order to take a firmly revisionist stand, be well acquainted with the physical, chemical, documentary, and historical argumentation of revisionism. I reminded them, for example, that the myth of the alleged Nazi gas chambers had already died on February 21, 1979, when, in the daily *Le Monde*, thirty-four French historians showed themselves to be unable to take up my challenge concerning the



Robert Faurisson (left) and Ahmed Rami inspect the former Dachau concentration camp. With informed input from Faurisson and other researchers, Rami, a former army officer who fled his native Morocco for Sweden after a coup against Morocco's venal, oppressive, and covertly pro-Zionist King Hassan II in 1972, has long promoted revisionism to Europeans and Arabs alike through his radio broadcasts and his multilingual website, www.radioislam.org.

technical impossibilities of those absurd chemical slaughterhouses. The general public is unaware of that event, just as it is unaware of the succession of defeats and debacles suffered by the "Holocaust" historians in their entirety since 1985 (the date of the first Zündel trial in Toronto). It is now up to the leaders of the Muslim states to bring out into the light of day information like this, which is still being kept under a bushel;

6. In these different countries, institutes of history, sociology, or political studies ought to equip themselves with a section specializing in historical revisionism. Research resources and archives would enable scholars from around the world who have been chased out of their respective countries' universities, centers of research, or libraries because of their revisionist opinions or tendencies to come to work at the side of their colleagues of the Muslim lands. The various ministries of education, research, culture, foreign affairs, and information would collaborate on this project of international scope;

7. If one takes into account the fact that the "Holocaust" religionists harbor and maintain not only lies but also hatred, it will seem appropriate to plan the establishment on an international level of a "movement against the imposture of the 'Holocaust' and for friendship among peoples";
8. It would be fitting to try to bring some equilibrium to the balance of forces in international relations by inviting the political or diplomatic personnel of the great powers to show more modesty; these people, who never spare the rest of the world their morality lessons, should be reminded that they themselves bow a bit too low before an international mafia that specializes in lies, swindles, and contempt for human rights; the so-called international community, which constantly invokes those rights, should re-establish them in the cases of revisionists before rebuking the Arab or Muslim countries for intolerance or obscurantism. Such accusations could easily be turned against those states which, intolerant of challenges to a legend become official history and now protected by special laws, forbid their citizens from casting light on certain historical subjects;
9. A new and powerful medium of information, the Internet, allows an accelerated diffusion of revisionism (see, in particular, the sites attributed to Ahmed Rami, with their sections in Arabic); here is a chance for the Arab and Muslim intellectuals, overly influenced by the dominant ideology in the Western universities where they have often been educated, to become detoxified from the "Holocaust" drug;
10. In sum, the feeling of grave disquiet shown by the Jewish and Zionist leaders in the face of both the Intifada of young Palestinians living in destitution and of the activities of revisionists possessing nowhere near the economic or financial resources at the disposal of the Great "Holocaust" Mafia reminds one of the ancestral fear that the rich feel in the face of the poor, the colonizers before the colonized, and the masters at the sight of their slaves. The Jewish and Zionist leaders groan, threaten, and strike. They see themselves as rich (never rich enough, of course), armed with all sorts of weapons (including blackmail and racketeering as well as military weapons), and they know how to make themselves feared by all the leaders of the most privileged nations; they are, in particular, aware that the German leaders are devoted to them, willing even to expend the blood of German soldiers

against the foes of Israel, and ready to intensify their repression of revisionism all the more unmercifully. Yet Jews and Zionists are haunted by the thought of having to confront the courage of those who no longer have anything to lose in the double Intifada, Palestinian and revisionist. The rich and mighty are enraged to see that they can be defied as they are by the Palestinians, armed only with stones, and by the revisionists, armed only with pens.

III. The Main Target: 'The Magical Gas Chamber' (Céline)

Let us learn to take aim. Let us not scatter our efforts. Let us apply ourselves to setting our attention on the center of the adversary's operation. The center of the huge edifice forming the religion of the "Holocaust" is none other than the Auschwitz lie. And the heart of the Auschwitz lie is, in turn, the prodigious "gas chamber." That is where we must aim. Placards waved by Palestinian or other Arab demonstrators bearing the words "The 'Holocaust' of the Jews is a lie," or "The six million are a lie," would of course worry the "extor-Zionists," but those formulations are still too vague; they are less vivid, less precise, and less striking than "The gas chambers are a lie."

No one is able to show us, at Auschwitz or anywhere else, even one of these chemical slaughterhouses. No one is capable of describing to us their exact appearance and workings. Neither a trace nor a hint of their existence is to be found. Not one document, not one study, not one drawing. Nothing. Nothing but some occasional, pitiful "evidence," which vanishes, like a mirage, as soon as one draws near, and which the Jewish historians themselves, in recent years, have finally been obliged to repudiate. Sometimes, as at Auschwitz, tourists are shown around an alleged "reconstituted" gas chamber, but the historians, and the Auschwitz museum authorities too, know quite well that, in the words of the French anti-revisionist historian Eric Conan, "*Everything in it is false*" ("Auschwitz : la mémoire du mal," *L'Express*, January 19-25, 1995, p. 68).

Still, the Jews are lucky. They are believed on their word. Almost nobody asks to see the technological prodigy that a Nazi gas chamber would have been, a veritable large-scale chemical slaughterhouse. Imagine that someone has told you about an airplane capable of transporting two or three thousand passengers from Paris to New York in one half hour (according to the exterminationist vulgate, in a single alleged gas cham-



Louis-Ferdinand Céline

ber at Auschwitz, a batch of two or three thousand Jews could be killed in half an hour). Would you not, in order to begin to believe it, demand to see at least an image of something that would constitute a technological leap forward such as science has never known? Are we not in an age of exact sciences and of the audio-visual? Why this sudden shyness when it comes to our gas chamber?

The peddlers have an easy game. They show you the equivalent of either your garage or your shower and tell you: "Here is the place where the Germans gassed the Jews in groups of a hundred or a thousand." And you believe it. You are shown human hair like that which you could see at a barber's or a wig maker's and told, without the least proof, that it is the hair of gassing victims. You are offered shoes and they are labeled "shoes of gassing victims." You are presented with photographs of dead bodies and you believe that you see victims of gassing. You are made to shudder at the sight of crematory ovens which are in fact perfectly unexceptional. There exists a very simple means by which to show that we are being fooled about the prodigious yields of German crematory ovens in the 1940s: it is simply to compare them to the present-day yield of the most modern crematoria.

I also know an irrefutable way to prove that the alleged gas chambers for the killing of Jews with hydrogen cyanide gas could not have existed: it entails visiting today, as I myself did in 1979, the execution gas

chamber of an American penitentiary, or otherwise acquainting oneself with the highly complex nature of the gas chamber, its very complicated structure, and the quite draconian procedure of an execution by gassing, in the 1940s or '50s, in the prisons of Carson City, Nevada; Baltimore, Maryland; or Parchman, Mississippi; to be precise, those executions were and still are carried out with hydrogen cyanide gas. They are so dreadfully dangerous for the executioners that the putting to death of one individual requires drastic precautions and a most complex technology (quite aside from the recently achieved sophistication due either to technological progress or to a multitude of safety measures).

On the alleged Nazi gas chambers, let us listen to ... Céline! I hold Louis-Ferdinand Céline (1894-1961) to be the loftiest genius of French literature in the twentieth century. His force, his finesse, his clear-sightedness were incomparable. His life, unhappily, was largely one of hardship. From the day in 1937 when he began to display the fear of seeing a new world war flare up, he brought on his own doom. Seriously wounded during the First World War, he feared a new butchery with all his body and soul. France's Jews, for their part, did not see things that way. Most of their leaders clamored for a crusade against Hitler. Céline then condemned their feverish desire to punish Germany, their frantic warmongering. He foresaw the catastrophe, and later, when Great Britain and France had taken it upon themselves to go to war with Germany, he could only remark in what "fine bed-sheets" France was lying. In 1944, he narrowly escaped the summary justice then being administered, in particular, by Jews and Communists. He fled to Germany in its agony of the final months of the war, then to Denmark, where for nearly a year and a half he was imprisoned in the worst conditions. When he eventually returned to France, it was to live the life of an outcast. France is a particularly cruel land for its great writers. It is still the case today, sixty years after their respective publication in 1937, 1938, and 1941, that three of his works, masterly satires detested by the Jews, remain prohibited de facto. No law, in principle, prevents their republication, but everyone knows that the Jewish organizations would go on the warpath should Céline's widow, still living, authorize their appearance. Such is the unwritten law of the modern Talmud.

Other examples of this Jewish privilege are well known. Thus, to cite the case of an academic guilty of having once written a revisionist sentence, Bernard Notin has, since 1990, been prohibited from lecturing

at his faculty at the University of Lyon. No law has been passed, no judicial or administrative decision has been issued, that would render this prohibition official. Today, at the same university, it is the turn of Professor Jean-Paul Allard to be branded with the mark of Cain for having presided, more than fifteen years ago, during the oral examination of a revisionist doctoral candidate. A great hue and cry has been mounted against Allard.

Formerly, if one remarked to the Jews that they tracked down the revisionists like wild animals, they would protest, boldly denying anything of the sort. But times have changed. The Jews no longer conceal this practice of theirs, and proudly assert responsibility for such violent actions. On March 1, 2001, the weekly *Actualité Juive* headed one of its articles: "La chasse à Jean-Paul Allard est ouverte" ("The Hunt for Jean-Paul Allard Is On"). The contents of the piece amounted to an incitement to kill. The Jewish organizations cynically intend to make themselves feared, and it is correct to say, today more than ever, "*metus regnat Judaeorum*" (fear of the Jews reigns). In Allard's case they seem to be reaching their goal: just recently, this professor, exhausted by the chase, has been hospitalized for a stroke and has lost his capacity for normal speech. Lately the Jews and their friends have also succeeded in attempts to have the revisionist Serge Thion, sociologist and historian of merit, removed from his post at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), and this by means of a procedure so openly arbitrary that the most arrogant of employers would not use it against his humblest employee, lest he have to pay heavy damages. I shall say nothing of the suffering endured by the revisionists who have fought openly, in their own name, the most admirable of them being, for his intelligence and his heart, in my view, the German Ernst Zündel. For forty years a resident of Canada, he has waged a titanic struggle against the international "Holocaust" lobby, aiming in particular to obtain justice for his maligned homeland. Without him revisionism would have continued to live in semidarkness. But one cannot swim up the Niagara Falls, and, in the face of an almighty coalition of political, financial, and judicial forces, Zündel has recently been obliged, in spite of several brilliant victories, to leave Canada. In his new exile, he continues, with the aid of his German-American wife, Ingrid Rimland, to fight for a just cause.

If, towards the end of this talk, I have called to mind the lofty figure of the author of *Journey to the End of Night*, it is because Céline, by one of his customary strokes of genius, had already suspected, just five years

after the war, that the alleged physical extermination of the Jews might be but a fable, a work of trickery. It must be said that from 1945 on, floods of Jews from Central Europe, who were thought to have been exterminated, headed for France, when they had not headed for other Western countries or for Palestine; in France, they had just reinforced a Jewish community of which four fifths were spared the wartime deportation measures. In November 1950, upon a reading of Paul Rassinier's first sizeable work, *Le Mensonge d'Ulysse*, Céline wrote to his friend Albert Paraz:

Rassinier is certainly an honest man [...]. His book, admirable, is going to cause quite a stir — *after all*, it tends to cast doubt on the magical gas chamber! no small matter! A whole world of hatreds is going to be compelled to yelp at the Iconoclast! It was everything, the gas chamber! It permitted *everything*!

As for us, we can only admire this lucid and scintillating vision of things, this foresight.

Yes, the gas chamber really is "magical." As I have often remarked, no one, in the end, has proved capable of showing or even of drawing one in reply to my challenge, "Show me or draw me a Nazi gas chamber!" No one has been able to explain its operation to us. No one has been able to tell us how, at Auschwitz, the Germans could pour pellets of Zyklon B, a powerful hydrogen cyanide-based insecticide, into alleged holes made in the roof of the "gas chamber," for this alleged gas chamber (in reality, a cold storage room for corpses awaiting cremation) has, as a careful look at the ruins shows, never possessed even a single such orifice, a fact that has permitted me to state the four-word conclusion "No holes, no 'Holocaust'!" No one has been able to reveal to us the mystery, implied by the standard version, of how the Sonderkommando, the squads of Jews under the orders of the Germans, could enter that great gas chamber with impunity so soon after the alleged mass killings, to remove energetically, day after day, the thousands of corpses lying in tangled heaps.

Hydrogen cyanide gas is difficult to remove by ventilation, which is a time-consuming process; it penetrates and lingers within plaster, brick, concrete, wood, paint, and, above all, the skin and the mucus of humans; thus one could not enter, move about, and do such work in what would have been an ocean of deadly poison, handling corpses which, infused with that poison, would poison whoever touched them. It is, furthermore, well known to specialists in the field of disinfection (or disinfestation) that it is essential, in such an

atmosphere, to avoid physical effort for, if such effort is made, the breathing quickens and the gas mask filter will then allow the poison to pass through, killing the wearer. Finally, no one has been able to instruct us as to how those amazing Jews of the Sonderkommando, ever dragging out the corpses of their co-religionists, could perform such exploits while eating and smoking (in one version of the "confession" ascribed to Rudolf Höss, the best known of the successive Auschwitz commandants); for, if one understands correctly, they did not even wear gas masks, and smoked amidst the noxious fumes of an explosive gas.

Like the imaginary flower dreamt of by the French symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898), who wrote of "the one missing from every bouquet," the Nazi gas chamber, capable of astounding work, is "missing from all reality." It remains truly magical, but of a sinister and nauseating magic; it is nothing other than a nightmare that dwells in Jewish brains, while, for their part, the high priests of the "Holocaust" work to make this gruesome illusion haunt the world for eternity, and to hold humankind in a state of near-hypnosis: their livelihood depends on it.

Céline is right again to add, on the subject of the magical gas chamber, that it is "no small matter!" In reality, as he says further on, it is everything and it permits *everything*. Without it, the "Holocaust" edifice would collapse totally. Pierre Vidal-Naquet, sorry herald of the anti-revisionist struggle, has himself acknowledged as much. Noting that some of his friends, grown weary of the struggle, were decidedly tempted to discard the cumbersome gas chambers without further ado, he beseeched them not to, and voiced this cry of alarm: "I beg your pardon: that would be to surrender in open country" ("Le Secret partagé," *Le Nouvel Observateur*, September 21, 1984, p. 80). The Nazi gas chamber is said to be the only tangible (but in fact impossible to find) evidence of a physical extermination (that never took place) and that is, moreover, brazenly described to us as having been concerted, planned, and of a monstrously industrial nature, with production yields worthy of the name "death factories."

Céline, finally, is right to conclude "A whole world of hatreds is going to be compelled to yelp at the Iconoclast!" For my part, I should add, more than half a century after that prognosis, or prophecy, that the yelps, increasingly deafening, have not ceased for an instant against those iconoclasts who are the revisionists. In today's France, the latter are labeled with the barbarous term "négationnistes," whereas they negate or deny nothing. On the contrary, at the end of their research,

they affirm that a gigantic historical imposture holds sway.

Conclusion

The revisionists haunt the days and nights of the upholders of Jewish law, and of those who Céline — again — called “the martyrs’ trust.” To revisionists who seek to defend themselves against it, the trust shows no mercy. It drives some to suicide, causes physical injury and disfigurement, it kills, or forces others into exile. It sets fire to houses and burns books. It has the police, the judges, the prison authorities do its bidding. It applies pressure, it extorts and steals. It sets the dogs of the press on us, it throws us out of our jobs, it heaps insults upon us. On our side, not one among us has ever, to my knowledge, struck one of these perpetual law enforcers. On April 25, 1995, in Munich, a German revisionist killed himself, burning himself alive. He meant this act to be a protest against “the Niagara of lies” showered upon his people. In his suicide letter, he stated his hope that the flames which consumed his body would burn as a beacon for the generations to come. The German police proceeded to arrest the persons who soon afterwards came to leave a bouquet at the spot where Reinhold Elstner had immolated himself. On May 13, 2000, the German political science professor Werner Pfeifferberger, 58, ended his own life after having long endured a legal persecution launched against him by a Jewish journalist in Vienna, one Karl Pfeifer, who had detected a whiff of revisionism (called, of course, neo-Nazism) in the academic’s writings.

The revisionists live a life of hardship, and the Palestinians are living a tragedy. In particular, many Palestinian children are destined for a sorrowful fate. Their Israeli killers are, on a modest scale, the worthy successors of the American air force, the military corps which, in all of a cruel human history, has contributed to killing, mutilating, disfiguring, or starving more children than any other, first in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, then in Japan, in Vietnam and in much of the rest of Asia, then in the Near and Middle East and in many other places in the world, whenever the American soldier receives from his superiors the order to hunt down a new “Hitler” and to prevent a new “genocide.”

May the leaders of the Muslim states hear the Palestinians’ and the revisionists’ appeals! Our ordeals are similar and our Intifadas identical.

May those leaders finally end their silence on the biggest imposture of modern times: that of the “Holocaust”!

May they, especially, denounce the lie of the alleged Nazi gas chambers! After all, not one of the leaders on the winning side of the Second World War, despite their hatred of Hitler’s Germany, stooped so low as to claim that such gas chambers had existed. During that war, in their speeches, as afterwards in their memoirs, not once did Churchill, or de Gaulle, or Eisenhower mention this diabolical horror which they surely saw propaganda agencies tirelessly peddling during the war. A quarter of a century ago, in a masterly book, the American professor Arthur Robert Butz called the grand imposture “the Hoax of the Twentieth Century.” That century is over; now its hoax must vanish into the rubbish bins of history.

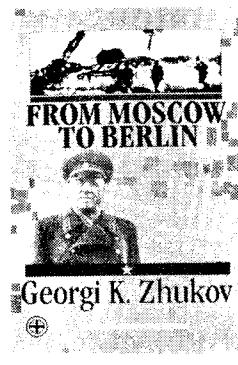
The tragedy of the Palestinians demands it, the ordeal of the revisionists makes it essential, and the cause of humanity as a whole makes it our historical, political, and moral duty: the Grand Imposture must be condemned. It is a fomenter of hatred and war. It is in everyone’s interest that the leaders of the Muslim states end their silence on the imposture of the “Holocaust.”

— March 22, 2001

“All democracies have a basis, a foundation. For France it is 1789, for Germany it is Auschwitz.”

— German Foreign Minister Joseph Fischer,
Süddeutsche Zeitung (Munich), issue No. 50, 1999.

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Between Public Relations and Self-Alienation: Arab Intellectuals and the ‘Holocaust’

IBRAHIM ALLOUSH

Defective Strategies for Coping with External Threats: A Preview

Children sometimes mimic the sounds and gestures of characters, whether fictitious or real, that they see as frightening and omnipotent, including parents, teachers, and older siblings. These become rich sources for emulation in play, alone or with other children. From the inception of consciousness, humans search for mechanisms to cope with perceived threats from external sources of power. Primary among these mechanisms is the attempt to thrust ahead through emulation, defined here as adopting the methods, tools, attitudes, or aggression of that which frightens and awes. The psychological imbalance induced by anxiety over potential threat is thus averted by becoming one with that threat, either by exchanging roles or by internalizing the perceived source of overwhelming fear.

Hence, one may alleviate anxiety caused by a perceived threat, if only temporarily, by projecting the threat onto third parties, real or imagined. Yet by fabricating a shoddy and fragile imitation of the original threat, potential victims restore psychological equilibrium only at the expense of losing their balance in the larger context of personality, identity, or even humanity. Although not physically injurious, the resultant, self-inflicted wound cuts to the integrity of the person threatened.

Adults are no different in their need to control perceived sources of anxiety and threat in order to main-

tain mental and psychological balance. They attempt to emulate seemingly more authentic sources of actual or potential threats, even if their attempts to emulate such sources of danger take more socialized and politicized forms and expressions. Still, the basic process of self-alienation remains the same: the perception of an overwhelming threat generates the need to restore psychological and mental balance by internalizing that threat, then projecting it outwards, or by becoming one with it through emulation, to bridge quickly and thoroughly the wide gap between the inferior's feelings of worthlessness, weakness, and guilt and the imagined omnipotence of the perceived aggressor. At the core of this process, then, lies a relationship of inferiority between: the fearsome and the fearful, between the powerful and the powerless, between the wealthy and the impoverished, between the conqueror and conquered.

This process is the mechanism by which the values and perspectives of ruling elites in any society become those of the “mainstream.” It is also the means by which the world today is being Americanized. To be sure, this is a two-way process. It is true that ruling elites in all societies, and at the global level, control the production of contemporary symbols and values, through control of the mass communications media and of the means of intellectual production (and thus of intellectual property rights). Yet that control only furnishes the material basis for creating a pliable mainstream. The prerequisite for controlling the mainstream (or the masses, in more archaic political terminology) is that the latter be



Ibrahim Alloush

completely self-alienated, and utterly disposed to emulate the wealthy, the powerful, and the fearsome.

Over a century ago Thorstein Veblen, in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, traced the process by which the values and beliefs of the ruling classes become those of the rest of society through economic emulation. What Veblen described as "conspicuous consumption" by the wealthy led to the emergence of a cult of "consumerism," whereby the rest of society attempted to imitate the rich and thus bridge their perceived inadequacy.

In the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized, the process of emulation leads the colonized to adopt the positions and the attitudes of the European colonizers toward them. This leads to self-hatred and self-degradation on the part of the colonized. In his *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon analyzes the process by which European colonizers made some Africans loathe their race and seek to become "whiter," so to speak. In his letter of resignation from the hospital where he worked as chief psychiatrist during the Algerian war of independence, Fanon discusses how his therapeutic work with his Arab patients revealed that many of their problems originated with feelings of inferiority inculcated over decades by the European colonizers: his patients had internalized their oppressors'

image of them.¹

Paulo Freire, in his well-known work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), raised the political and social analysis of emulating and internalizing the oppressor to new heights. Freire dissected the process by which revolutionary regimes become oppressive, like the regimes they have just overthrown: during the struggle the new regimes had absorbed the value systems of their former oppressors, and their attitudes towards the oppressed. To these revolutionaries, liberation meant "becoming like the oppressors."

Why revolutionary regimes turn oppressive is beyond the scope of this article. The point remains that Veblen, Fanon, and Freire, at different times, and on different social and political levels, each discovered how the oppressed internalize their oppressors and their oppressors' worldview, including their perception of the oppressed. At the micro level, the level of the individual, Anna Freud was the first to identify, in 1936, the process of internalizing the aggressor among children. Finally, in his *Social Backwardness: An Introduction to the Psychology of the Coerced* (first published in 1981), a classic that makes for highly illuminating, indeed indispensable reading for any Arab progressive, Dr. Mustafa Hijjazi of Lebanon establishes an analytical linkage between the internalization of the aggressor at the individual level and the internalization of the oppressor at the social and political levels. Unfortunately, Hijjazi does not mention Veblen or Freire in his book: these two writers could have greatly enhanced his analysis.

The thesis of these works can be abstracted as follows: the oppressed, because of their condition, develop feelings of inferiority, incompetence, and vulnerability, which in the absence of objective awareness (real consciousness) of the relationships that create that oppressive condition, lead them to adopt the oppressor's view of the world and themselves. This deepens their sense of inferiority and pushes them further to emulate the oppressor, in a vicious cycle that reinforces their condition of oppression. Stated simply, being the inferior in a relationship based on fear impels the oppressed to adopt the oppressor's worldview.

Self-Alienated Arabs: A Political Application

In cultural and political terms, one can apply the emulation paradigm to Arab intellectuals and social strata seeking to sever their connections to their Arab-Islamic heritage and identity, and to devour and regurgitate the rhetoric and narratives of the Zionist movement and of the overseers of the "New World Order."

Feelings of guilt and ineptitude grow as the oppressor's worldview is internalized, turned against oneself, and even more so against one's group, as an extension of the self. The self-alienated Arab then begins to associate his Arab identity — suddenly grown flat, monotonous, degraded to a stereotype — with all that is negative and inferior. Everything positive, enlightened, and superior is now ascribed to America, the West, Jews, Zionists. This state of psychological imbalance can only be resolved by the self-alienated Arab's attempted escape from self, his becoming a bridge to the values, beliefs, practices, and the oppressor's worldview.

For the average Arab, this self-alienation becomes an obsessive fascination with the lifestyle, music, culture, food, clothes, and gadgets of the dominant societies. Like certain "British Indians" or "French Algerians" before them, for these Arabs salvation becomes the ability to lose their identities and to melt into that of the aggressor, oppressor, or invader.

Self-alienated Arab intellectuals, on the other hand, express their alienation by becoming spokespersons for globalization, Zionism, and peace with "Israel." To the extent these Arabs speak for their oppressors deliberately, either to cultivate them for personal benefit or privilege, or to avert reprisals and punishment, one may call them opportunistic. Insofar as they rationalize oppression out of conviction rooted in their self-alienation, however, they better fit the emulation model: they have completed the process of self-abnegation.

To underscore this point, it might be useful here to bring up a crucial difference between supporters of the Oslo "peace process" and those Arab politicians and intellectuals actively promoting Zionism, in theory and practice, to their fellow Arabs (where Zionism, as defined by Herzl, is the creation of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine).

To be sure, both groups represent defective social and political ways of coping with overwhelming oppression, namely, the Jewish invasion of Palestine. Supporters of Oslo tell their constituents that they are merely enduring a status quo they cannot change (and thus might as well make the most of it), a transparently defeatist argument. The Arab politicians and intellectuals promoting ideological rationalizations of oppression are, in the long run, infinitely more dangerous. They typically advance arguments and standards that present imperialist and Zionist domination as acceptable, even desirable, to Arabs. One such brainchild of the self-alienated is the self-destructive embrace of the notion of "Middle Easternism," by which the Arab-Islamic heritage and identity is to dissolve in a global-

ized "Middle East," in which the Arabs are to be even further fragmented along sectarian and ethnic lines.²

The self-alienated Arab intellectuals and politicians, who may oppose Oslo clamorously, promote arguments and ideas that lead to the moral acceptance of "Israel," not merely the recognition of its right to exist, as Oslo supporters do out of political expediency. Examples of such ideas include the notion of the bi-national state (which abrogates the Arab identity of Palestine); criticizing Zionism *primarily* for its racism (rather than for its occupation of Palestine); advocating winning over Israeli public opinion by abandoning armed resistance against the occupation (although, as the historical record from South Lebanon to the Vietnam war shows beyond question, it is effective armed resistance that is most capable of swaying public opinion in the enemy camp); proclaiming adherents to the Jewish religion as a nation with the right to self-determination in Palestine while denying, for example, that the Arabs are a nation (self-evident alienation when coming from an Arab); and the whole slew of contrite calls for "dialogue with the other" and for "understanding the other" (where the now neutral "other" is nothing but the invader and oppressor). In short, exactly what we would expect from Arab intellectuals or politicians who realize themselves only through absorbing and voicing values and ideas that bring them closer to the oppressor, albeit as inferiors.

The practical difference between the opportunists and the emulators is that political expediency can change with political circumstances, whereas ideas and value-systems that bind the oppressed in subservience to the oppressor are much more stable. Evidence of this can be readily found in the active role supporters of the Fateh organization in the West Bank and Gaza are playing in the current Aqsa Intifada: for the previous seven years they were seen as the enforcers of Oslo, mere policemen serving as security for the invader. Clearly the ideological subjugation of the oppressed penetrates more deeply into the collective mentality than does political subjugation, and therefore it is much more dangerous. Words may wound worse than weapons. Indoctrination from within is far more brutal than external domination. External domination stimulates resistance, even if it be entirely covert; indoctrination is a self-made prison for the spirit, that serves only the oppressor.

The Oppressive Narrative of the 'Holocaust'

Frequently, meek submission to external domina-

tion sets the stage for indoctrination. The process typically starts with self-delusions about “playing the PR game,” “playing it smart with the mainstream,” and other rationalizations designed to take the edge off defeatism or capitulation before an irrationally overwhelming force. Let us next examine how certain Arabs deal with the oppressive narrative of the “Holocaust,” a narrative of which the Arabs, in particular Palestinian Arabs, have been primary victims.

The “Holocaust” has long since ceased to be about the Jews who died in the Second World War, or about opposing all forms of racialism, including Nazism. It has become instead a generator of contemporary symbols and political values for rationalizing Zionist power and its support by ruling elites in the West in furtherance of their own imperialist interests in the Arab world. Oppression cannot prevail solely by the argument of force; to achieve long-term stability it must be complemented by the force of argumentation. Thus acceptance of the received version of the “Holocaust” has become a necessary condition for rationalizing Zionism and its international support network. To be specific, the “Holocaust” serves three simultaneous objectives:

1. it justifies a Zionist state in Palestine on the grounds that the Jews need a special refuge from an alleged worldwide “anti-Semitism”;
2. it rationalizes unlimited Western financial, military, and political support for the Zionist movement and Israel with reference to the guilt complex inculcated in the West over the “Holocaust” as the culmination of “anti-Semitism”;
3. it condones violations of international law and of all legal and divine codes by the Zionist movement and Israel under the pretext that the alleged uniqueness of the “Holocaust” in human history should allow Jews leeway in the application of the law.

Many Arabs chide themselves for not campaigning effectively enough in the media to win over public opinion in the West. In their much-needed media efforts to explain their cause to Westerners, however, these same Arabs insist on ignoring the biggest obstacle to their success: the fact that the most important source of sympathy for Israel in Western public opinion is the received version of the “Holocaust,” and the mass-communications media’s churning out of daily “Holocaust” reminders to constantly increase that sympathy, overshadowing every Zionist injustice or excess. Therein lies the importance of revisionist historians to Arabs. These brave souls (who are of varying ideological back-

grounds) work meticulously and systematically to undermine the three basic pillars of the “Holocaust”: 1) the myth that the Nazis pursued a policy of genocide against the Jews (the Nazi policy regarding Jews was deportation, including, unfortunately, deportation to Palestine); 2) the myth that six million Jews died in the Second World War (that number exceeds by far the numbers of Jews living in Nazi-occupied areas during the war); and 3) the myth of the gas chambers in which millions of them supposedly perished (no one has yet been able to prove the existence of, or explain the way in which,¹⁹⁻²⁵ these chambers supposedly functioned).³

In a classic show of self-alienation, however, fourteen Arab intellectuals recently called on the Lebanese government to cancel a historical revisionist conference in Beirut. By doing so, these intellectuals were derelict in their duties as Arab intellectuals. They asked an Arab government to ban an intellectual forum. More important, they publicly gave their unreserved credence to a false narrative that empowers Zionism, instead of exposing it. Such acceptance of the “Holocaust” is the essence of cultural “normalization” with the invader; it is intended to lead eventually to making Arabs no less intellectually subservient to the “Holocaust” myths than Westerners are today. Thus these Arab intellectuals, either out of indoctrinated self-alienation or for opportunistic reasons, become the intellectual beachhead from which Zionism launches its invasion of the Arab mind.

The *Jerusalem Post*: An Arab Voice?

It is perfectly understandable that Zionists grow enraged when the totem of the “Holocaust” is scrutinized critically. After all, it is a lucrative source of income, arms, and Zionist legitimacy. Thus when the *Jerusalem Post* (of June 8, 2001), reported on a symposium on historical revisionism organized in Amman, Jordan by the Jordanian Writers Association (JWA) on May 13, 2001, it was most unsurprising to encounter a constellation of Zionist academics, politicians, and commentators frenziedly denouncing the symposium and the JWA.⁴ It was not the first time, nor will it be the last, that Zionists attacked Arabs who dared to put the “Holocaust” to rational discussion.

Predictably, the long story in the *Jerusalem Post* did not contain a single sentence in response to the scholarly research that debunks the three basic myths of the “Holocaust.” Instead, it conveyed two messages, one for Arabs, the other for Westerners. Arabs were told: leave

the “Holocaust” alone. Questioning it is bad media strategy (since when have the Zionists worried about the Arabs’ media strategies?). The message to Western public opinion, on the other hand, was that Arabs who challenge the “Holocaust” are equivalent to Arab who lay claim to the “Temple Mount” (site of the Al Aqsa mosque) and other property and prerogatives claimed by the Zionists in Palestine.

Note that there is a great, though undeclared, psychological extortion at the heart of both messages, based on the Zionists’ success in establishing the myths of the “Holocaust” in the Western mind beyond a shred of doubt: the “Holocaust” has acquired a potency that overwhelms and oppresses. None of those interviewed in the *Jerusalem Post* article remarked on the logical and scientific evidence refuting the myths of the “Holocaust.” Instead, they invoked the “Holocaust” as an overpowering, numinous force with which to threaten Arabs: Stay out of this fight. Give up! Back off! Adore our gods or else! For their part Westerners, more deeply initiated into the rites of the “Holocaust” religion, are told: A few of the Arabs dare to question the “Holocaust,” and denying the “Holocaust” is no different from denying any of the Jewish claims to Israel.

In the face of such an onslaught, there can only be three kinds of Arab responses: that of the self-alienated Arabs, who embrace the “Holocaust” religion wholeheartedly; that of the defeatist Arabs, who pay lip service to the “Holocaust” out of political expediency, without embracing the “Holocaust” cult; and finally that of those Arabs willing to stand up for truth and justice by fighting the Holocaust imposture.

Thus when the *Jerusalem Post* story quoted Hussein Ibish, communications director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), as taking part in the Zionist attack on the Jordanian Writers Association and on all Arab intellectuals who dare to question the “Holocaust,” the immediate question became: What kind of Arab (or Arab-American) is Ibish? Is he the kind that embraces the values of the enemy’s religion wholeheartedly, as do certain Arab intellectuals, or is he of the sort that serves the false cult out of political expediency?

Examining Ibish’s statements against Arab intellectuals who question the “Holocaust,” one will note that the evident strategy closely resembles that of the supporters of Oslo: yield to the enemy on basic principles, settling for scraps while improving one’s position against the enemy wherever possible. In this case, the ADC’s communications director capitulated to the Zionists by: 1) lending them the voice of the ADC to

condemn Arabs who dare to question the “Holocaust,” 2) publicly declaring the adherence of the ADC to the three founding myths of the “Holocaust” religion, and 3) reassuring Zionists and Westerners that those Arabs willing even to listen to a critical appraisal of the “Holocaust” are too few to worry about.⁵

All the same, despite having yielded so much of basic principle, the ADC’s communications director appears to have sought to avoid a slavishly pro-Zionist stance on the “Holocaust.” Thus Ibish included Gypsies, Slavs, and others in the “Holocaust,” which somewhat diminishes Zionist claims for its historical uniqueness. He also pretended to take issue with Arab criticism of the “Holocaust” as a tool to justify Zionist excesses, only to present what he “disagreed with” at length. Notwithstanding these petty subterfuges, Ibish still gave the Zionists the invective they needed from an Arab for their attack on the Jordanian Writers Association and on the Arab intellectuals who dared to question the myths of the “Holocaust.”

Had Ibish’s critique appeared from an Arab forum, instead of as a voice in the Zionist chorus from the *Jerusalem Post*, it might be better classified as a case of indoctrinated self-alienation. But when the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee was called upon by the *Jerusalem Post* to show its “goodwill” towards Zionists by venerating the “Holocaust,” it capitulated meekly before what is (rightly) perceived as an overwhelming threat, the prospect of vilification by and exclusion from the Western media. By mimicking the gestures and words of the oppressor, Ibish and the ADC preserved their threatened psychological equilibrium at the expense of a larger imbalance in their personal and political integrity.

What Zionists fail to understand when dealing with supporters of Oslo, the Palestinian National Authority, or those Arabs who yield to overwhelming Zionist force, is that we Arabs have long experience in humoring oppressive forces. For more than a thousand years now, our people have had to endure both external and internal oppressive structures, including the Zionist occupation. The defeatists and opportunists among us may compromise basic principles, a reprehensible practice by any standard, but even they will try to filch whatever scraps they can from the oppressor on the sly. Even when the Zionists accuse the Palestinian enforcers of Oslo of not abiding by this or that detail of their one-sided relationship, the Zionists underline the larger realities of the Zionist oppression and occupation. Enter those Arab intellectuals who reconcile Arabs ideologically to Zionism: their work, far more serious,

much more dangerous, aims to implant the equivalent of an Israeli agent in every Arab mind. This threat makes the fight against cultural normalization with the invader one of the most important aspects of the Arab-Zionist conflict today.

The above remarks on emulation and on the adoption of the value-systems and beliefs of others should be interpreted strictly in the context of oppressive conditions between humans on the individual or social level. In the absence of oppressive conditions, that is, in cases where people work, communicate, interact, and struggle together for a common goal in a spirit of camaraderie and cooperation, it is quite normal for shared beliefs, symbols, perceptions, and values to arise quite naturally. The difference, of course, is that in the latter case social interaction makes persons whole, not self-alienated. To repeat, oppression, exploitation, occupation, victimization, calls for "dialogue with the other" and "understanding the other" can only reflect the fundamental imbalance of power between victor and vanquished. To preserve the humanity of the oppressed under such conditions, the necessary form of dialogue with oppressors is the kind that occurs in revolutions, whether political or intellectual.

Notes

1. Cited in a paper in Arabic that was published in Beirut in 1970 in the monthly journal *Arab Studies*, issue no. 5, "Frantz Fanon and the Philosophy of Revolutionary Violence."
2. To read about why the concept of 'Middle Easternism' is self-alienating to Arabs and Muslims, please go to: <http://www.fav.net/yesWeSupportPeace.htm>. To learn more about Zionist designs to fragment Arab states into smaller units, and to establish a "Palestinian" state in Jordan, please see the Kivunim document at: http://www.fav.net/ZionistConspiracy_DivideTheArabWorld.htm
3. For more on the myths of the "Holocaust," please go to: <http://www.fav.net/Faurisson.htm> [A version of Robert Faurisson's Beirut address that appears elsewhere in this issue — ed.]
4. To view the June 8, 2001, *Jerusalem Post* article aimed at the Jordanian Writers Association and Arab intellectuals, please go to: <http://www.jpost.com/Editions/2001/06/10/Features/Features.27849.html>
5. Readers interested in learning why the last statement is totally inaccurate should go to: <http://www.fav.net/AnotherResoundingVictory.htm>

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Where are the Missing 'Six Million'? If Hitler Didn't Kill Europe's Jews, What Happened to Them?

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To the Mannheim Jail: Justice and Truth in Contemporary Germany

FREDRICK TÖBEN

My seven months' imprisonment in Mannheim, Germany in 1999 was quite a physical and mental experience for me, and I shall attempt to contextualize this within a personal historical narrative that may shed some light on the persecutors' mind-set.

I can ask you: which version of my story do you want to hear? The good one or the bad one? The good story is all about my making the most of a difficult situation. But afterwards you may say: Hey, I don't have to feel sorry for you anymore. The bad story is all about the pain of being deprived of personal freedom — and it will make you feel very sad, not only for me, but also for anyone who in some way has lost the physical and mental freedom that we normally take for granted.

Of course, there really is nothing new in this. During the same year I was jailed, German historian Ingrid Weckert was fined 3,000 marks for having written an article published in the German journal *Sleipnir* in which she contrasted diary entries — one positive, the other negative — written by two men who spent time in Dachau.

For me personally, it was interesting to meet members of Germany's judiciary and legal profession, and to find out what made them tick. For example, what makes people such as German public prosecutor Hans-

Heiko Klein pursue revisionists fifty-five years after the end of the Second World War?

Soon after my arrest, on April 8, 1999, rumor had it that I had deliberately gone into the lion's den to sacrifice myself for the cause. The only truth to this is that I have tried to lead by example, and for years I have proclaimed that we must be prepared to go to prison in order to defend free speech.

I talked and talked about it, and still consider my approach to be based on reason — to speak to friend and foe alike. Why? Well, if we stop talking to one another, then other forms of communication emerge not based on reason.

While in prison I had a lot of time to think, and I formulated the following: "If you deny me my freedom to think and speak, then you take away my humanity, and you commit a crime against humanity. Truth is my defense." It's elementary, but so is our human nature — and we take for granted the freedom to think and to speak without realizing that there are forces that wish to take it from us.

Linked to the freedom concept, and vital in any human enterprise, is the moral value of truth-telling. Who today wants to hear the word Truth? It is a rare commodity, particularly in any government agency.

Frederick Töben was born in June 1941 in Germany, and emigrated to Australia when he was ten. He studied at Melbourne University in Australia, as well as at universities in Heidelberg, Tübingen and Stuttgart in Germany, where he earned a doctorate in philosophy. He is the founder and director of the Adelaide Institute, an important revisionist research and publishing center (P.O. Box 3300, Norwood 5067, Australia. Web site: www.adelaideinstitute.org). This essay is adapted from his address at IHR's Thirteenth International Conference, May 28, 2000.

Work to Do

Let me briefly go back to the beginning of my second revisionist tour. On February 22, 1999, the day of my departure from Australia, our local *Wimmera Mail-Times* newspaper in Horsham accurately reported my intentions in visiting Germany: to discuss this Holocaust business with lawyers, public prosecutors, and judges — something I subsequently did, both before my arrest and after my release on November 11, 1999.

During my imprisonment, information about the outside world became vitally important for me. More than a hundred people worldwide wrote and offered their support. For that I am forever grateful to them. I never formally thanked the IHR for supporting me — I do that now.

It was also important for me to know that our work at Adelaide Institute was continuing. While I was in prison, Richard Krege — our associate in the Australian Capital Territory — led an expedition to the site of the wartime German camp of Treblinka in Poland, where he carried out an investigation using a sophisticated Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) device. The GPR images did not confirm the official Treblinka story. [See the May-June 2000 *Journal*, p. 20.] Although this research is still not complete, we can safely say that yet another Holocaust myth has been destroyed with the help of state-of-the-art technology.

The aim, it must be stressed, is not to destroy myths for the sake of destroying myths. We all need our myths. The worry begins when some insist that their myths rest on some physical reality. When such a claim is clearly wrong, it becomes a lie. Greek and Egyptian myths, for example, do have some connection with reality, as archeologists illustrate when they confirm elements of them through their investigations. The Holocaust homicidal gas chamber extermination myth, on the other hand, has no such connection with physical reality, and hence legal means are used to prevent public expression of such dissident skepticism.

The Feverish Mind

The mind that creates and upholds the Holocaust myth is a feverish one, abandoning any cherishing of truth-telling as a moral virtue. Here is an example of what I mean, written by a professed Holocaust survivor:

I grew up and became an adult in a time and in a society that didn't want to listen, or perhaps

was incapable of listening. "Children have no memories, children forget quickly, you must forget it all, it was just a bad dream." These were the words, endlessly repeated, that were used on me from my school days to erase my past and make me keep quiet. So for decades I was silent, but my memory could not be wiped clean. Very occasionally I would make timid attempts to share at least some parts of it with someone, but these attempts always went wrong. A finger tapping against the forehead or aggressive questions in return soon made me fall silent, taking back what I'd revealed. It is so easy to make a child mistrust his own reflections, to take away his voice. I wanted my own certainty back, and I wanted my voice back, so I began to write....

Legal accredited truth is one thing — the truth of a life another. Years of research, many journeys back to the places where I remember things happened, and countless conversations with specialists and historians have helped me to clarify many previously inexplicable shreds of memory, to identify places and people, to find them again and to make a possible, more or less logical chronology out of it. I thank them all.

This rather moving account of a child finding his identity within the Holocaust mythology, of pain and suffering endured, comes from the afterword of Benjamin Wilkomirski's book *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood*. [See the September-October 1998 *Journal*, pp. 15-16.] We now know that this work, which is still sold in book stores, is a total fabrication. It is fiction sold as fact.

Wilkomirski's "memoir" is a prime example of the level of ruthless emotional exploitation to which the Holocaust racket has sunk. Historical revisionists are not the only ones who are critical of the Holocaust myth makers. Peter Novick, in his 1999 study *The Holocaust in American Life*, says of Wilkomirski's book: "When evidence emerged that one Holocaust memoir, highly praised for its authenticity, might have been completely invented, Deborah Lipstadt, who used the memoir in her teaching of the Holocaust, acknowledged that if this turned out to be the case, it 'might complicate matters somewhat,' but insisted that it would still be 'powerful' as a novel."

I may ask: With what kind of moral framework is Professor Deborah Lipstadt imbuing her students? With impunity she is still defaming and inciting hatred



Fredrick Töben's need to know, not believe, led him to the Holocaust Holy of Holies, the roof of morgue 1 of Crematorium II at Auschwitz-Birkenau. It was through carefully cut holes in this roof that granules of hydrogen cyanide are supposed to have been dropped with lethal effect on more than half a million Jews. As Dr. Töben, like revisionist pilgrims before him, ascertained, there no holes, only growing cracks and fissures ... rather like the Auschwitz myth itself.

against the German people — which is a crime against the Germans' human rights. Lipstadt is thus committing a crime against humanity. Then again, the Germans are letting it happen!

Natural Justice: From the 'Educators'

Let's go back 15 years, to February 1985, when Ernst Zündel began his legal battle with the world Holocaust lobby. The first "great Holocaust trial" was beginning in Toronto.

In Australia, I had just been dismissed from my teaching post, and was beginning an eight-year legal battle against the Victorian Education Department, ultimately to succeed in having the dismissal reversed. How did I manage that? The issue in court was whether I had been given "natural justice," that is, the right of reply to an allegation. The principle of natural justice is, of course, not a part of statute law but rather of common law. The Crown solicitor stated in the interrogato-

ries — the question and answer section of the proceedings where preliminary matters are tested to find out how strong each side's case is — that I "was given every opportunity to respond to the allegations — and in fact did so" during the formal hearing in the director-general's office. This legal opinion rested on documentary evidence: during the formal hearing on February 7, 1985, a legal officer had taken notes when my witnesses and I talked with the director-general. This legal officer had written that I "was given every opportunity to respond to the allegations, and in fact did so." My legal counsel of one year — I had already been rejected by four legal firms — threw in the towel, claiming that I could not win the case because "you have been given natural justice."

What to do next? I insisted that I had not been given the opportunity to respond to the allegations leveled against me — seven allegations of incompetence and five allegations of disobedience (the latter all alleged to have happened during a time-span of less than five

minutes).

On the day of the formal hearing — February 7, 1985 — I attempted to hand to the director-general my written response to the eleven allegations. I still recall his words: “Dr. Töben, it is not a matter of you responding to these allegations point-by-point. Give me a reason why I should not act on the legally constituted enquiry’s recommendation that your services be dispensed with.”

Luckily I had secretly recorded this whole interview, and a young barrister to whom I played the tape listened intently: “I think your case has stumps, not yet legs, but certainly stumps. I think we can run this case.” He then had the whole tape transcribed. At the end of the trial, the judge found that because the official inquiry looked into my competence, but not into the disobedience allegations — that were no doubt simply added to give weight to the former allegations — I had not been given natural justice, that is, the right of reply. The judge also said something about the director-general “shifting ground” — that’s a euphemism for lying.

It was only a technical victory because I was not reinstated. But in 1992 I presented my case to the South Australian Teachers’ Registration Board, and was given permission to teach in South Australian schools.

Complicated court cases rarely produce outright winners or losers. Knowing this, lawyers shrug their shoulders with a cynical attitude, “win some, lose some.” In my case, the concept of natural justice — a right of reply — thus defeated outright lying.

Natural Justice: Before the ‘Human Rights Commission’

In 1996, I encountered the same unprincipled legal framework. When the Adelaide Institute set up its own Internet website, Australia’s leading Zionist, Jeremy Jones, was quick to act — following a signal sent around the world by Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles, who had designated our website a “hate site.” Jones — vice-president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) — brought us before a “Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission” (HREOC), bitterly complaining on behalf of all Australian Jews that our work violated the recently enacted Racial Discrimination Act.

Like many similar tribunals, this commission was meant to provide low-cost conflict resolution, outside of the normally much more expensive and time-consuming regular court system. Parties before a commission tribunal are encouraged to first resolve their con-

flicts through conciliation meetings, before coming to a formal hearing. Our case was different, though. Jones refused to attend any conciliation meetings, and instead pressed hard to bring the matter to a formal hearing.

The lady who initially prepared our case, before any formal hearing date had been set, advised me before leaving the HREOC that our case was an international political matter. With this revelation, I was slowly beginning to understand those individuals who spoke of a “Jewish conspiracy,” a notion I had rejected outright. I still do. I simply demand to be given the names of those who are doing the persecuting.

When it was time for the hearing, it was not held in Adelaide, where the alleged offense occurred, but rather in Sydney. This was a tactical move on the part of Jones and the ECAJ, and the HREOC commissioner — who hails from Adelaide — granted Jones’ request, thereby placing additional financial hardships on me.

The formal hearing began in Sydney with Jones trying to pull a fast one on the commissioner, who was already biased against me. He claimed to represent all of Australia’s Jews on this matter. I protested that Mr. Jack Selzer — Adelaide Institute’s associate in New South Wales — was Jewish, and certainly would not have Jones representing him before the commission. The application was suitably amended.

Then came my twenty-seven witness statements in support of our work. (Those of you whom I asked for help with this will recall my request.) What happened? Sifting through the statements, the commissioner quickly deemed most of them to be irrelevant.

I then turned to her with a question: “Is truth a defense in these proceedings?” She pussyfooted about, saying something about having to follow the wording of the Racial Discrimination Act. I continued with words to the effect: “If truth is not a defense in these proceedings, then lies will flourish. Where lies flourish an immoral situation occurs because truth is a moral virtue. These proceedings are immoral and I cannot continue to participate in them any further.” With that I left the room.

[On October 10, 2000, the Australian government’s “Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission” (HREOC) ordered the Adelaide Institute to remove from its Internet website material that “denies the Holocaust,” and to issue an abject written apology to the country’s Jews. To date the Adelaide Institute’s website (www.adelaideinstitute.org) continues to challenge the gas chamber myth.]

The Hayward Thesis

In each hearing we submitted a copy of Dr. Joel Hayward's 1993 master's thesis, wherein he endorses the revisionist view that the alleged homicidal gas chambers did not exist. [See the May-June 2000 *Journal*, pp. 21-23.] Dr. Hayward had sent me a copy of his original along with a written authorization to use it however I wished. This written consent was later withdrawn, but by then the damage had already been done.

Hayward's recent recantation does not worry me at all. He is just a good revisionist who has changed his mind. He has done so, he says, after studying the trial transcript and judgment in the London Irving-Lipstadt defamation case. Of course, it is his right to change his opinion, but I'd like to know his reasoning in detail, because that is what he, as a scholar, owes the world. Otherwise his intellectual integrity is shot to pieces.

After I returned home from prison, Hayward rang me and we had an hour-long conversation. He informed me that threats had been made against him by a staff member of the Israeli embassy in Auckland, New Zealand. He told me that he had been advised that he would never be allowed to travel to Israel, but that if, by some chance, he did get in, he would never get out. If that is not a threat, I don't know what is. Hayward dutifully made a public apology (very much in the style of David Cole) to New Zealand's Jewish community for the hurt, pain, and suffering his research, thesis, and held opinion on the Holocaust had caused them.

I consider historical writings to be professional opinion based on a specific store of information, and on the author's moral values. This store of information waxes and wanes — often influenced by outright political constraints, as, for example, when Marxist regimes ban scholars who fail to toe the party line.

During a visit in the 1970s to then-Communist East Berlin, I met with a historian at the Humboldt University. He had nothing to do. As he explained to me, the process of exclusion had been a gradual one. First his lectures were vetted to make sure nothing he said violated Marxist dogma, then he was assigned to menial work, and finally he was removed entirely from contact with students. He turned up at the university with nothing to do. (I don't know what subsequently happened to him.)

So, now I embrace two concepts.

First: Natural Justice — the right of reply, or talking with someone instead of someone talking about me, because the latter is persecution, and,

Second: Truth as a Defense in Court Proceedings —

carrying on discussion with reference to truth-content.

Asking Questions

It has always been important for me to speak to friend and foe alike. In 1997, when I undertook my first revisionist world trip, I met many like-minded persons, as well as a few not so like-minded, such as public prosecutor Hans-Heiko Klein in Mannheim, and Rabbi Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles.

Rabbi Cooper had labeled our website a "hate site." Why did he do it? During our meeting, he complained that our site was linked with those of non-historians such as that of Arthur Butz. I reminded him that we were linked even with the Simon Wiesenthal Center's own site because we believe it is important to have a free flow of information. He agreed that this is important, and even agreed that questioning things is essential for our mental development. Then he asked me: "Do you question the gassings?" I replied that, of course, I wanted to know what the murder weapon looked like. That was enough for him. He rose and said this ended our meeting.

Likewise with Klein, that first time. I had a cordial discussion in his office. While showing me a Leitz file folder packed with material, he said: "I know all about Adelaide Institute." He also asked the gassing question, and I indicated to him that I am aware of the German law that prohibits such questioning. He muttered something about my being like Leuchter on this free speech issue.

So, for Cooper and Klein, merely asking questions is an offense. This is a crime against humanity, because without asking questions we become mental slaves, dependent on someone else interpreting life for us. We thus never develop our own worldview, and that is bad.

To Know, Not to Believe

In August 1998 Adelaide Institute held Australia's first International Revisionist Symposium, something that upset Jeremy Jones. [See the November-December 1998 *Journal*, pp. 6-10.] We had the pleasure of hosting, as a visitor, His Excellency, the Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates.

We also had John Sack as a speaker, and some individuals were upset when he began his talk with the words: "I believe in the Holocaust." I pointed out that holding such a belief is, of course, John's right, and his participation shows how tolerant Holocaust revisionists really are. However, if he were to assert, "The Holo-



Dr. Töben, with Dr. Reza Kaji, at the International Intifada Conference in Teheran, Iran, in April 2001. The showcase just in front of the array of flags of Muslim countries contains a floral model of Jerusalem's Al Aqsa Mosque, generally held the third holiest spot in Islam. It was Ariel Sharon's swaggering visit there (in the company of one thousand Israeli police) on September 28, 2000, and its aftermath of brutal attacks on Palestinian worshippers, that touched off the current "Aqsa Intifada."

caust is an historical fact," then I would take issue with him, asking him to provide detailed proof supporting his assertion.

I want to know, not to believe.

The Arrest

In March 1999, some months after Jürgen Graf had participated in our revisionist symposium, I joined him and Carlo Mattogno on their archival research tour in former Communist countries. On April 8, 1999, I visited prosecutor Klein's office, and was subsequently arrested. Because a couple of versions of the arrest are floating about, let me briefly tell you what happened.

After arriving that morning at the local Mannheim police station, I inquired where state prosecutor Klein's office was located. An officer rang Klein and confirmed that my meeting with him was set for 2:00 P.M. I had other things planned for later in the afternoon, includ-

ing travel to Bielefeld to meet, next day, with Judge Luetzenkirchen, the jurist who had confirmed Udo Walendy's earlier prison sentence.

So, around 9:30 A.M. I walked into Klein's office and asked whether he could bring forward the time of our meeting. He agreed to meet at 11 A.M. When I later walked into his personal office, I saw Klein sitting at his desk and another man sitting in a chair in front of me. I was introduced to Herr Mohr. Sensing something, I spontaneously asked Mohr: "You're not here for me, are you?" Mohr responded — and this was corroborated by Klein almost in unison — "No, I'm here just by chance."

Klein then invited me to present the information I had, and among other things, I mentioned that a new sign had gone up at Auschwitz-Birkenau Krematorium II telling visitors about the alleged gas induction holes at the top of the Krema morgue roof. He asked me a few questions designed to trap me into denying the gas chamber's existence, which I avoided answering. But it

was no help to me, and Klein then informed me that he was arresting me, and that Mr. Mohr would be taking me to the police station. Mohr began fiddling with his handcuffs, and I said that that would not be necessary because I would not attempt to run away. I had come here to study German justice, I said, and this would help me to learn more about it.

In Germany an arrested person must, by law, be brought before a judge within twenty-four hours. I was, and the arrest warrant that was issued against me reflected the haste with which it had been written up. I didn't recognize myself in what was said about me. I was seemingly the author of most of Ernst Zündel's works and of Germar Rudolf's publications. (It also appeared from my correspondence with Professor Gerald Fleming that he had lodged a complaint against me with the German authorities. Andreas Röhler, publisher of *Sleipnir*, soon established contact with Fleming, who assured Röhler that my imprisonment had nothing to do with him, and that he opposed it.)

Jail

This arrest warrant (*Haftbefehl*) was enough to send me to jail. Bail was refused, citing the experience with Fred Leuchter. [The American gas chamber specialist, author of the 1988 "Leuchter Report," was arrested in Cologne on October 28, 1993, just before he was to appear as a guest on a television program, and held for thirty-four days until his release on November 30, 1993. See the November-December 1993 *Journal*, pp. 22-23.] Klein alleged that Leuchter had skipped the country after he had been let out on bail. Later a confidential prison source informed me that the German authorities had, in fact, wanted Leuchter to leave Germany and return to the United States.

It is common practice to challenge an arrest warrant, and a week later this was done. By that time, though, Klein had gotten his act together, and a second arrest warrant was issued on May 3 that listed five allegedly criminal writings, all taken from Adelaide Institute's website.

Let me just clarify; I was held on remand, or in detention, while awaiting trial, or, in German, *Untersuchungshaft*, literally "investigative custody." Imprisonment, that is, a prison term following sentencing for a crime, is *Haft* in German. However, I tend not to differentiate between detention, house arrest, imprisonment, or jail, because each amounts to a loss of personal freedom.

During my seven months in prison I had a dream

every night — but not once did I have one that unsettled me. Nor did I suffer from depression, as many prisoners do during their first few weeks in jail.

It was obvious to me that my case was an attempt by Klein to play world policeman over the Internet, something opposed even by German jurists (such as Prof. Ulrich Siebert of Würzburg University, who wrote a detailed paper in July 1999 about my case).

The day after the second arrest warrant was issued, a local radio station broadcast a news item about my further detention in Mannheim prison. It also reported that the State of Israel had sent good wishes to the Mannheim public prosecutor's office. When I heard that, I knew that I had become a political prisoner.

My attorney, Ludwig Bock, and I had decided not to mount a defense, because any revisionist evidence offered by either of us in our own defense would itself constitute an additional violation of law. Bock also informed the judge he would no longer act as my attorney because he, Bock, was facing a similar charge. (At the time I accepted Bock as my lawyer in this case, I did not know that Klein had charged Bock with inciting racial hatred for having, two years earlier, too vigorously defended yet another German "thought criminal," Günter Deckert. Three weeks before my arrest, Bock was found guilty and fined 9,000 marks. His conviction was later upheld.)

Rejecting Bock's plea, the court ordered him to continue to represent me. But to protect himself, on the first day of my trial, November 8, Bock read out a statement saying this court case was like a witch trial, and that he and I would remain silent throughout the proceedings because evidence is not privileged in such cases.

In addition to the five allegations listed in the arrest warrant, Klein introduced a number of items of evidence that the two judges, Kern and Schmetzer, each read aloud in turn. One was a letter to me in prison from Jürgen Graf, who admonished me for having visited Klein. Graf wrote that he, along with Carlo Mattogno, Robert Faurisson, and so forth — the list was a lengthy "Who's Who" of revisionists — had all warned me not to visit this madman. Klein cited this letter to prove that I was one of the world's leading revisionists, and therefore as evidence of my criminal mindset.

Court Fight

At the end of the first day of trial I had time to think about my situation. I came to the view that instead of going down with barely a whimper, I should put up a fight. So on the second day of my trial, before the pro-

ceedings commenced, I read out the following statement:

1. It would be painful for me if I let myself be forced to be silent, especially if it concerns seeking clarification or solving problems.
2. I regard this trial as a state-sanctioned mental rape of my person.
3. Through a lifetime of philosophical studies I have liberated myself from my own ignorance, thereby not shying away from becoming a citizen who voices his concerns and who takes a moral-ethical stand against injustices.
4. After I left the court Monday afternoon I reflected a lot on what was happening in court. I also saw a television news item in which reporter Volker Hurrel insulted me and incited hatred against me. Yesterday morning I read articles by Ulrich Willenberg in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* that also offered an ideologically distorted picture of my endeavors, and thereby defamed and incited hatred against me.
5. Every thinking human being is a revisionist. Revisionism is nothing but a method, a heuristic principle, with which to construct one's world view. Opinions are constantly revised through a free flow of information. Only encrusted minds cannot absorb new information, preventing moral responsibility from coming to the fore. Then citizens such as myself are arrested during a private discussion and thrown into prison.
6. I revised my plans last night when I heard German president Johannes Rau's address, given on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. Rau said that no one is expelled from Germany for disagreeing with the government's opinions. He also talked about freedom, and how justice requires it. I now add that in Germany there is a basic law that protects my human rights. I therefore request that I may defend myself in this court with a new lawyer, Dr. Thor von Waldenstein.
7. I am now in my eighth month in Mannheim jail, and I have gained many impressions of the German justice system. I was elected spokesperson for the 250 prisoners on remand, and I hear many prisoners insult prosecutors and judges as "racists" and "Nazis." Public prosecutor Klein — that's the irony — also defames me with these words. He even decorates his office wall with a swastika!
8. I see prosecutors and judges order prisoners on remand placed in their cells for twenty-three hours a day. They are treated like convicted prisoners,
9. and not as innocent persons. Convicts are better off than prisoners on remand, who are not even allowed to participate in the church service and in the Bible study group. This is human rights abuse — the prevention of exercising one's religious belief. Why do Hurrel and Willenberg not focus on such injustices?
9. I have no criticism to make of the staff of the Mannheim jail. They attempt to do their best in coping with a difficult situation, but they can do only so much, and they are often just overburdened.

A Free Man

Judge Klaus Kern refused my request to remove my silent lawyer, Ludwig Bock, from my case, and to order a new trial with proper legal representation.

In his summation, prosecutor Klein demanded a sentence of two years and four months for me because, he said, "it is obvious that the seven months in prison have had no effect on him." He also claimed that my criminal intent was evident in my revisionist mindset, and that this makes me a hard-core revisionist, an anti-Semite, and a racist.

After adjourning for about an hour, the judges returned. Judge Kern read out the sentence: three months for allegations one through three; six months for an open letter I had written to Judge Clapiér-Kespach (violating section 130 of the criminal code, which outlaws "popular incitement," because I had mailed it, and several copies, to persons in Germany); and three months for allegation five. The judge rounded this down to ten months, and then set bail at sixty thousand marks. Because I had already spent seven months behind bars, and had been well behaved during my imprisonment, the "two-thirds" rule applied. I was therefore released for time served in custody.

This deprivation of my mental freedom rests on the Holocaust myth, the Holocaust dogma. The dogma is all-pervasive and gaining in strength, but the stronger it becomes, the more resistance will grow against it. These are interesting times. The United States of America, with its free speech guarantee, will continue to play a leading role in keeping the controversy alive.

[On December 12, 2000 the federal German appeals court in Karlsruhe criticized the Mannheim court for its leniency, and ordered that Fredrick Töben be retried. The appeals court upheld the principle that German courts may try foreigners for actions which are lawful in the countries in which they are committed.]

The Töben Affair, Seen by Voltaire

ROBERT FAURISSON

For the historian, the sociologist, or the jurist, the case of Australian revisionist Fredrick Töben is one of the simplest and most instructive. It is also both appalling and amusing.

One day, moved by curiosity, this German-born Australian departed the antipodes for France, to confer with a revisionist who had coined the phrase "No holes, no 'Holocaust.'" Next, he journeyed to Poland, to Auschwitz, where with his own eyes he observed the absence of any "holes" in the collapsed roof of an alleged homicidal gas chamber, and concluded that there was cause to doubt whether such chemical slaughterhouses had ever existed at that spot, the veritable center of the "Holocaust." Finally, on a pilgrimage to the Germanic lands, he shared his doubts and asked for explanations, conduct that, forthwith, earned him a stay in prison.

Voltaire would have liked this "affaire Calas" (of a less tragic sort). From it he could have drawn inspiration for a tale entitled: "The Emperor's New Clothes, or the Imposture." It seems right to imagine that, as in a classical French play, the story should evolve in five acts.

In the first of these acts, our hero from the southern hemisphere hears tell that a certain European emperor, dear to the Jews, and thus also to today's Germans, is, in the eyes of his court, bedecked in the most resplendent attire, while in reality he is quite simply naked. It is said that certain ingenious rascals had pretended to create for the emperor garments of an exceedingly rare cloth,

costing a fortune. In the next act, our Australian, a modern-day Huron after Voltaire's tale *Le Huron ou l'Ingénue*, armed with advice on how to pursue his inquiry, arrives in Europe and prepares to see for himself. At the imperial court, he forms the impression that this emperor could well be naked. In the third act, he makes inquiries at the court, even whispering to the courtiers: "Is it possible that your emperor is naked?"

For want of a fitting reply, he resolves to go to the German realms and consult a man of the craft. This man, certainly a German, perhaps a Jew as well, has a reputation the world over for so good a grasp of the solution to the riddle that he will abide no answer but his own. A prosecutor of lugubrious mien, he invites the skeptic to return the next day to receive his answer. This our Australian does not fail to do. In the prosecutor's office, with a stranger present, he is asked to repeat his question. He does. And so it is that, in the fifth and final act, the curious traveler finds himself behind the bars of a German jail.

In the real-life Töben case, the prosecutor was one Heiko Klein, the stranger was a policeman, and Töben spent seven months in the Mannheim jail.

Voltaire would have been no less inspired by what came next. The treatment Töben received in court throws a stark light on how the German justice system operates today, and on the behavior of many Western democracies whenever the most hallowed of their taboos, that of the "Holocaust," appears to be in peril.

Fredrick Töben, guarded and in handcuffs, was led

This essay is adapted from Robert Faurisson's foreword to Fredrick Töben's forthcoming book, *When Truth is No Defence: I Want to Break Free*.



On October 13, 1761, Jean Calas, a Protestant textile dealer in Toulouse, and his wife discovered the body of their 29-year-old son, Marc-Antoine, who had hanged himself. When Calas attempted to conceal Marc-Antoine's suicide, Toulouse was soon rife with innuendo that the father had killed his son because he was about to convert to Catholicism. Voltaire became involved only after the city authorities had executed Calas on March 9, 1762; the philosophe, then 67 years old, was able to mobilize Prussia's Frederick II and Catherine of Russia, as well as much of Europe's republic of letters, to induce France's Louis XV to pardon the late Calas and to order his wife and daughters released from confinement.

from his jail cell into a courtroom. Given the gravity of his case, however, he was only allowed a mock trial. He was, of course, provided with counsel, but his attorney was made to understand that he would do well to keep quiet if he did not want to join his client in prison. The lawyer kept quiet, and Töben was found guilty, sentenced to time served and a heavy fine, and then released.

The Australian authorities were careful not to intervene in favor of the victim. Indeed they fell little short of applauding the judges' decision, most likely envying the German magistrates' freedom of action.

In the rest of the Western world, everyone, by and large, fell into line with Germany and Australia. The "elites" in place either approved, or kept silent. It occurred to none of them to decry the outrage. There were no petitions in support of the heretic, and no demonstrations. "Amnesty International" considered it nat-

ural and normal that an intellectual, an academic, should be treated thus. Indeed, precisely because Töben is a professor, many must think that he ought surely to know that some questions simply outrage decency.

Twenty Years Earlier

Twenty years previously, I myself lived through an experience comparable to that of my Australian colleague. In the columns of *Le Monde* (Feb. 21, 1979), thirty-four French historians — some of whom, like Fernand Braudel, enjoyed international renown — issued a joint declaration rebuking me for having put a question that propriety should have forbidden me even to conceive.

I had discovered that the existence and operation of the alleged Nazi gas chambers was, for physical and chemical reasons understandable to a child of eight, fundamentally impossible. In the late seventies I had therefore asked Germany's accusers how, for them, such mass murder by gassing had been technically possible. The answer took some time in coming, then gushed forth:

It must not be asked how, technically, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible given that it took place. That is the requisite point of departure of any historical inquiry on this subject. It is incumbent upon us to simply state this truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate about the existence of the gas chambers.

I was awkward enough to think that I had just brought off a decisive victory. My adversaries were taking flight. They showed themselves unable to reply to my arguments except by nimbly evading them. For me, the myth of the gas chambers had just breathed its last.

Pressac's Surrender, Spielberg's Triumph

Of course, from a scientific standpoint, gas chambers had fallen into nothingness. The following years confirmed this. From 1979 to 1995, every attempt to demonstrate their existence would abort: the Rückerls and Langbeins, the Hilbergs and Brownings, the Klarfelds and Pressacs would all suffer the most humiliating failures. It is not I who say this but rather one of their most fervent disciples, the historian Jacques Baynac. In 1996, in two lengthy and particularly well-informed articles, this fierce opponent of the revision-

ists drafted, with a heavy heart, an assessment of the vain efforts to establish the existence of the Nazi gas chambers (*Le Nouveau Quotidien*, Lausanne, Sept. 2 and 3, 1996). [See the July-August 1998 *Journal*, pp. 24-28.] Baynac's conclusion: the historians had failed totally and, as a result, recourse was had to the judiciary in order to silence the revisionists.

In March 2000, the renegade revisionist Jean-Claude Pressac was, in a way, to announce his own surrender. On this point one may read an interview with him published by the French scholar and historian (and staunch anti-revisionist) Valérie Igouinet, in her book *Histoire du négationnisme en France* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000, pp. 613-652). The last two pages of the interview are stunning: Pressac states that the "rubbish bins of history" await the official story of the concentration camps! This text of a recorded talk, supposedly on June 15, 1995, must have been somewhat modified afterwards.

As is well known, however, the sphere of science, on the one hand, and that of the mass media, on the other, are plainly different in nature. In the latter sphere, while the Nazi gas chambers have had a very rough time of it, the adjoining myths of the genocide and the six million have prospered, thanks to thunderous promotion. Hilberg and his like may have failed in their work as historians, but Spielberg, the master of special effects cinema, triumphs with his "Holocaust" epics. Today, the official version of Second World War history has the force of law and of custom to such a degree that the nasty "deniers" seem annihilated.

The Particular Case of Fredrick Töben

Nevertheless, a number of these rebels called revisionists remain alive, and very much so, to the despair of the thought police and their servitors among prosecutors, the judiciary, and the media. One of these revisionists, Fredrick Töben, upon leaving prison, had not the decency to show the least contrition or, as is said today, repentance. It may be feared that, for him, the Emperor (of the Jews) will remain indisputably naked, and that he will continue to go about repeating "No holes, no 'Holocaust,'" or, in an allusion to the non-existent fabric, "No clothes, no 'Holocaust.'"

Beginning with the indomitable Paul Rassinier, numerous other revisionists besides our Australian have endured, or still endure, a thousand travails. A few months ago, one of them, in Germany, was driven to suicide. Werner Pfeifenberger, a professor in Münster, killed himself on May 13, 2000, after years of exhaust-



What would Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694-1778) make of today's Holocaust cult, with its spectral "gas chambers" and incorporeal martyrs, its survivor saints and sham miracles, its museum-shrines, its shabby dogmas that contravene physical reality, the state inquisition that shields it from investigation? Would he not cry, "Ecrasez l'infame!" (or, "Crush the monster!")?

ing struggle against his persecutors. [See the May-June 2000 *Journal*, pp. 24-25.] On April 25, 1995, in a Munich square, Reinhold Elstner immolated himself by fire. [See the September-October 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.]

What distinguishes Töben's case from those of other revisionists is its simple and swift unwinding, and therefore its illustrative value. One might call it a synopsis, even a précis. It is nothing but the story of a man who, for having made a prosaic remark about a material fact, finds himself in prison. To whoever cared to listen, he declared: "At Auschwitz-Birkenau, they tell us a lethal poison was poured through four openings cut into a reinforced concrete roof, killing, day after day, thousands of people locked in the room below. Well, just looking at the roof today you can see that none of

those four holes ever existed! Yes, the roof is in ruins, but there is not a trace of such an opening, either above ground or, if you go down into the ruins, on the ceiling below. How do you explain that?" He received no answer. He then sought out a man who, by definition, would certainly know the answer to his query (and the answer to several others of the same type, i.e. material, basic). The sole reply that wise man could make was to throw the questioner in jail. But, out of jail again, what did our impudent friend do? He repeated his question, but this time "*urbi et orbi*," to the whole world, and with renewed vigor.

A story edifying by its brevity, and not without spice.

Töben in an Ingénue Role Out of a Tale by Voltaire

I shall say it again: a Frenchman familiar with Voltaire is tempted to see in this antipodean a reincarnation, in his own mode, of Candide or the Huron (the original ingénue). Under Voltaire's pen, the ingenuousness, real or feigned, of those two heroes, wholly of his imagining, ended up putting them through numerous ordeals — but it also helped them overcome adversity, not without providing interesting perspectives on the beliefs and superstitions underpinning our society and institutions. The story of Fredrick Töben (a German, as was, in fact, Candide) would probably have appealed to Voltaire on another score, that of the execrable intolerance of the Jews and their high priests. (See: Henri Labroue, *Voltaire antiijuif* [Paris: Les Documents contemporains, 1942].)

Today, in France, new editions of certain works of the "patriarch of Ferney" are expurgated, for fear of displeasing the Jews. No one can doubt that, if he came back to this world, Voltaire, following Töben's example, would be locked up for his disrespectful questions. Today even Switzerland, where in his time Voltaire knew he could find refuge, would surely put him in jail.

* * *

A note to the reader: Voltaire (1694-1778) was notably the author of *Candide ou l'Optimisme* (philosophical tale, 1759) and *Le Huron ou l'Ingénue* (satirical tale, 1767) as well as the *Dictionnaire philosophique ou la Raison par alphabet* (1764). He intervened in a series of court cases, such as that of the Calvinist Jean Calas, to speak out against what he called the crimes of intolerance or of superstition. He spent his last twenty years at Ferney, near the Swiss border.

Note on a falsely attributed statement: the following remark is mistakenly attributed to Voltaire: "I dis-

prove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it," sometimes with the adjunct "Monsieur l'abbé ..." In reality, a London author, in a book published in 1906, wrote, of Voltaire's attitude in cases of intense disagreement with his adversaries: "I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to the death your right to say it was his attitude now." The author called himself Stephen G. Tallentyre (real name: Evelyn B. Hall), and the book was entitled *The Friends of Voltaire*. Source: Paul F. Boller, Jr., and John George, *They Never Said It: A Book of Fake Quotes, Misquotes, and Misleading Attributions* (New York and Oxford: O.U.P., 1989, pp. 124-126). Such, anyway, is the information I have from an article in *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux* (Nov. 1993, p. 1157), kindly sent to me seven years ago by the Belgian revisionist Pierre Moreau, to whom I had confided my failure to find the remark in any of Voltaire's writings.

— August 22, 2000

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The Debate about *Neighbors*

Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland by Jan T. Gross. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001. Hardcover. 216 pp., index, photos, maps.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL CROWELL

The publication of Jan Tomasz Gross' *Neighbors* in Poland in the spring of 2000 elicited strong protests in the author's native country. Many considered the book, a meditation about a massacre of Jews allegedly carried out by Poles in the summer of 1941, an accusation of Polish complicity in the Holocaust. When Princeton University Press published *Neighbors* in English translation in April, similar reactions from outraged Polish nationalists could be heard in the United States. Conversely, there was gloating in certain Jewish quarters, since the book, in its depiction of Jewish suffering at the hands of malicious Poles, served to reinforce long-standing prejudices many Jews continue to harbor against the Polish people.

The debate has tended to focus largely on the facts of the massacre, which in turn shape the secondary debate on the massacre's implications. That there was a massacre no one really disputes. Yet there has been sharp criticism of Gross, not only for his lack of qualifications to write history — he is a sociologist who teaches political science in New York City — but also because of some unusual departures from accepted historical method that Gross inarguably makes. Some critics have even fastened on Gross' Jewish paternity: although his mother is Catholic, Gross left Poland in 1968 during a state-sponsored "anti-Zionist" (in fact, anti-Jewish) campaign, and one could surmise a connection between that trauma and this book. Recently, the debate has been heightened following excavations by the Polish Institute of National Memory, a newly created agency designed to investigate the recent past and

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a "moderate revisionist." At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German, and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

hand down OSI-style indictments, and these excavations have revealed some serious factual inaccuracies in Gross' account.

Nevertheless, to attack Gross' book for its historiographical deficiencies is to miss the point of *Neighbors*. To begin with, it is not structured as a work of history, being little more than a medium length journal article — some 35,000 words — in which Gross uses the setting of a burning barn in Jedwabne as a backdrop for delivering several pronouncements about the nature of Polish-Jewish relations. *Neighbors* seems not so much intended as an historical inquiry as it is an appeal to conscience, a call for Poles to confront their past as actors rather than as victims.

Of course, many will bridle at the attempt to use an isolated incident for the purposes of making general observations about a people, an incident which was in any case hardly typical of Polish-Jewish relations. In that sense, *Neighbors* certainly passes the Goldhagen test of making vast and offensive generalizations based on limited data. On the other hand, hyperbole is a useful device to draw attention to a problem, and, when the problem in this case is the recriminatory nature of Polish-Jewish relations, perhaps it could be justified. To be sure, there will still be those who feel that Gross should have also called the Jewish people to self-examination: his failure to achieve such balance is the weakest aspect of the book.

Still, given the hysterical nature of the debate, with fevered expressions of chauvinism from both Polish and Jewish sides, there seems little doubt that books that attempt what *Neighbors* claims to are needed, if Europe is ever to recover its underlying unity and sense of purpose.

The Story

Gross' book is built around a series of allegations concerning what transpired in the Polish village of Jedwabne, in the northwest corner of present-day Poland, not far from Bialystok. In the fall of 1939, Jedwabne was among the territories annexed by the Soviet Union, as part of the secret protocol of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Given Jedwabne's small size (about 3,000 inhabitants), its composition (approximately half Jewish and half Roman Catholic), its impoverishment and agricultural base, it could be said that Jedwabne was typical of probably hundreds of small villages throughout Eastern Europe.

The period from 1939 to 1941 was a difficult one for Poles in the regions annexed by the Soviet Union. Soviet rule was accompanied by widespread “expropriation” of the “bourgeoisie.” During the twenty-one months of occupation the Soviet secret police, the NKVD, arrested and deported well over a million Poles, including some tens of thousands of Polish Jews, most of who disappeared into Siberia. It is important to note that Gross, in an earlier book, *Revolution from Abroad*, was quite clear about the extent of Polish suffering during this period: this should be kept in mind when evaluating the apparent lack of objectivity in *Neighbors*. Another feature of the Soviet occupation, very relevant to reconstructing the events in Jedwabne, is the fact that there was widespread cooperation between elements of the Jewish community and the Soviet occupiers, which could easily have led to ethnic hatred. However, this aspect of the Soviet occupation, forthrightly described by Polish historians, including, in his earlier book, Gross, seems deliberately downplayed, and indeed, with the claim of implied Polish gentile complicity with the Soviets later in the book, turned upside down.

With the Soviet occupation as a setting, Gross describes how matters changed following the German invasion of the USSR in June of 1941. According to several eyewitness accounts, beginning on June 25, several “town hooligans” began to harass the Jews of Jedwabne in several ways, mainly through beatings and robberies. According to Gross, the culmination of these anti-Jewish actions came on July 10, 1941, when the Jews of Jedwabne — numbered at 1,600 by the author — were rounded up in the town square by their Polish neighbors, beaten and subjected to various indignities, and then finally marched to a nearby barn, where they were locked in and burned alive.

The Backlash

One of the first criticisms of Gross’ book was that it relied largely, but not exclusively, on a single deposition describing the pogrom, as well as testimony from a couple of postwar trials which that deposition generated. The trials were held in Communist Poland during the late Stalinist period (1949–1953). For the most part, Gross depended on the deposition of Shmuel Wasserstein (Szmul Waszerstajn), a Jedwabne Jew, who, according to some sources, was a member of the Polish secret police (Security Office, or “UB”) during the time of the postwar trials. Furthermore, Wasserstein was not strictly speaking an eyewitness, since he was hiding in

another part of town during the massacre. While several Poles were convicted of participation in the events of July 10, 1941, there were several acquittals, and no death sentences were ever carried out.

One of the mysteries to Gross is how Wasserstein’s deposition — originally drafted in April 1945 by a Jewish agency in Warsaw — could have led to a trial by the Polish state in a backwater town four years later. It seems likely that, if Wasserstein was indeed a member of the secret police by this time, the impetus for the trial could well have come on his initiative. On the other hand, the general unwillingness of the state authority to pass judgment on Poles for their conduct during the German occupation would be a likely explanation for the light sentences. Certainly, one of the most unusual things about the postwar Jedwabne trials is that, while held, they generated no spectacle of retribution: they were, in effect, show trials with no show. Bearing in mind that trials under Communist systems invariably contain an element of political “education,” this is most unusual.

Another criticism of Gross is that he failed to consult records in other archives, specifically, the records of the German Einsatzgruppen, known to have been active in the area at the time, for his account of the massacre at Jedwabne. Gross has been the target of several barbs for this research failure. Such criticism, however, presupposes that Gross’ intent was to exhaustively reconstruct the events of the massacre. That this was not the case can be clearly seen from an endnote entry (p. 210f.) in which Gross admits that, while he relied on Wasserstein’s April 5, 1945, deposition (numbered 301/152), a later affidavit, also by Wasserstein (numbered 301/613), describes the deaths of fifty Jewish youths at the cemetery (which lay directly behind the burning barn). Clearly, the second deposition suggests a rather different massacre, at least in terms of scale, yet Gross has chosen not to explore these discrepancies.

Eyewitnesses

Perhaps in anticipation of such criticism, Gross makes an unusual appeal about the nature of eyewitness evidence about two-thirds of the way through his book. He writes:

I suggest that we should modify our approach to sources for this period. When considering survivors’ testimonies, we should be well advised to change the starting premise in appraisal of their evidentiary contribution from a priori critical to in principle

affirmative. By accepting what we read in a particular account as fact until we find persuasive arguments to the contrary, we would avoid more mistakes than we are likely to commit by adopting the opposite approach, which calls for cautious skepticism towards any testimony until an independent confirmation of its content can be found. (pp. 139f.)

This reads as an extraordinary appeal to ignore the most basic canons of historiographical practice, but the wording also suggests that Gross had in mind specific practices of Polish historians in ignoring eyewitness testimony.

It should be said that the issue of eyewitness testimony is a problem of twentieth-century history writing, for the greater democratization of societies has created a situation in which virtually anyone's narrative of a historical event is considered historiographically valid. It is an issue particularly dear to revisionists, since so many of the events revisionists dispute — in particular the narratives concerning "extermination camps" in which three million were gassed and burned — rest almost entirely on eyewitness accounts. This has even led a few revisionists to the position that all eyewitness testimony should be declared invalid and ignored as much as possible.

Yet this approach seems both extreme and misguided. Eyewitness testimony is a very valuable tool to the historian attempting to reconstruct events. The key issue is the basic credibility of what the eyewitness narrates. If an eyewitness describes a massacre of Jews in a small Polish village, whether it be by Polish marauders or by the Gestapo, then the event might well have occurred, since it does not strain credulity. The problem with the "gas chamber" narratives is not that they are based on eyewitness testimony, but rather that the testimony offered is incredible on its face, and can only become credible if there is an underlying mass of credible documentary and forensic evidence. Of course, the entire point of Holocaust revisionism is that this underlying evidence does not exist.

Excavations and Motive

In May 2001, the Institute of National Memory conducted excavations of the site of the massacre, that is, in the area of the burned-out barn and between the barn and the former Jewish cemetery. The results offered confirmation and contradictions of aspects of Gross' account. In the first place, the excavations revealed the remains of a statue of Lenin that the Jews had been

forced to remove from the square, a detail which tallies with several accounts. On the other hand, while the total number of bodies could only be estimated, due to Jewish complaints of desecration, it appears that no more than 200 or 250 people were killed in the massacre of July 10, 1941. In addition, some ammunition of German manufacture was discovered at the site.

The data have been interpreted variously by the partisans in the debate. The presence of German ammunition, for example, has been taken as proof that the killings were carried out by the Gestapo, although that doesn't very well explain why so many people in the area seemed to have no difficulty in admitting that Poles carried them out. Even the defendants in the 1949 and 1953 trials, who later claimed to have been tortured during their confinement, did not generally dispute the claim that at Jedwabne Poles killed Jews, while Germans were not involved. Moreover, German ammunition was widely used throughout Eastern Europe during this time, and thus the presence of German bullets is meaningless: recall that the NKVD used German ammo at Katyn.

The presence of the Lenin statue is rather more significant, for it strongly suggests that the massacre was carried out in revenge for perceived Jewish participation in Soviet rule, and the deportations these engendered. Indeed, it is hard to find any other explanation, and the presence of the statue also tends to refute one of Gross' main arguments, that the violence of the Poles against their Jewish neighbors was not due to rationally explicable motives, such as intergroup competition, class resentment, or even revenge, but rather to such superstitious causes as deicide and the blood libel. (Towards the end of the book Gross charitably offers theft as a possible quasi-rational motivation.)

The estimation of only 200 dead has been taken as vindication by Polish nationalists, who consider this reduction to have somehow removed the blot on Polish honor cast by Gross, as though the mob murder of 200 people is significantly less a moral stain than the murder of 1,600. Here we should emphasize that, patriotism apart, no good can come from attempting to explain away mass murders. The proper aim of rationalization is to help us understand the causality of tragedies such as Jedwabne, which otherwise run the risk of becoming mystified or two-dimensional: but understanding can never be equated with justification.

In reality, the excavations raise more questions than they answer. We can summarize the matter as follows: It

appears that about 200 Jewish citizens of Jedwabne were murdered in 1941 by their Polish neighbors in retaliation for real or imagined collaboration with the Soviets. After the war, a monument blaming the deaths of some 1,600 Jedwabne Jews on the Nazis was erected in the town. At the same time, trials were held in which Polish defendants admitted to their exclusive role in murdering the Jedwabne Jews. The forensic evidence does not contradict this general narrative.

However, if only 200 Jedwabne Jews were killed, what happened to the rest? If they fled with the Soviets — as seems likely — why were the Nazis blamed for killing all 1,600? Why would the Communist government present essentially two different stories to account for the absence of Jedwabne's Jews, who in any case were not killed there? These are difficult questions, but they may conceivably again go back to what might have been a complex of competing interests in the late 1940s and 1950s.

We can imagine a situation in which Soviet and Polish Communist governments would be willing to ascribe any population losses to Nazi conduct. The absence of Jews or even ethnic Poles from Jedwabne or elsewhere could be explained away by accusations of Nazi mass murder. In this way, one could avoid facing the more politically incorrect but more likely explanations that the missing people were either deported or forbidden to return home by the Soviet Union or had escaped to freedom in the West. On the other hand, we can also see the desire of Polish Jews who survived the war to see a measure justice or revenge meted out. In sum, while the events of July 10, 1941, seem rather clear in outline, the delineation of Poland's historical memory of the war years since then seems to have been a much more complex and competitive process. Perhaps further study will reveal that *Neighbors* itself is a part of that process.

Summary

As noted above, Gross' book has been severely criticized for its historiographical deficiencies. Yet, in our view, such critiques tend to miss the point of Gross' book, which was not so much meant to be historiographically precise as it was meant to force the Polish people to confront their legacy of anti-Jewish thoughts and deeds. There are several reasons that lead us to the conclusion that this was the main purpose of *Neighbors*.

First, we should always keep in mind that *Neighbors* was originally published in Polish for a Polish audience:

this means it can only secondarily be construed as yet another entry in the Holocaust literature so common in the United States. However, recognizing this fact means that we have to try to read the book the way a Pole would be expected to read it, as an intimate commentary by a former fellow citizen about a common past. Under those circumstances it is hard to support the argument that *Neighbors* is just another anti-Polish diatribe. To be sure, the publication of the book in English elicited precisely such anti-Polish stereotypes, but that is not relevant in determining Gross' original intent.

Second, Gross concedes that the events surrounding the pogrom in Jedwabne may well be inexact; yet this observation was relegated to the endnotes, which simply emphasizes the extent to which *Neighbors* is meant as a call to conscience among his former Polish compatriots, rather than a work of history. In the same way, the frankly one-sided nature of Gross' appeal also tends to diminish the book's claims.

Third, Gross emphasizes that witness testimony should be accepted as true a priori: the normal strictures of historiographical skepticism should not be applied. To non-Poles, and particularly to revisionists, this argument must be viewed as breathtakingly broad and naïve. On the other hand, if it is seen as a response to attempts to deny, diminish, or to impute to others every wrong in modern Poland's undeniably contentious history with the Jews, it is at least understandable. If there has been a habitual tendency among nationalist Poles to refuse any responsibility for mistreating Jews — and the controversy over *Neighbors* suggests that is the case — then a reminder that one should not be quick to dismiss eyewitness accounts, especially if they are otherwise credible, can only be salutary.

Fourth, Gross argues in *Neighbors* for diminishing the extent of Jewish-Soviet collaboration in the crucial period of 1939-1941, even though he has conceded the extent of such collaboration elsewhere. Instead, he attempts to argue that non-Jewish Poles were as involved, if not more involved, in collaboration with the Soviet occupiers. What this suggests is that, for this particular argument, and for the proving of this particular point, Gross sought to invert the issue of collaboration in order to avoid the typical apologetic reaction in which an anti-Jewish pogrom would be explained away as a consequence of collaboration.

Fifth, in a related vein, Gross argues, towards the close of *Neighbors*, that the true facilitators of the hated Communist regime in Poland were not Jews, but anti-

Semites, inasmuch as the kind of Jew-hating opportunists who would have taken part in the Jedwabne massacre were precisely the kinds of individuals who would have amorally served the postwar puppet government. Again, such a reversal of stereotypes is of little use in assessing the responsibility for Jedwabne, but it makes sense if the purpose of Gross' book is to remind his former countrymen of a famous wisecrack by a noted American philosopher from the wetlands. Nevertheless, Gross' implied "We have met the enemy, and he is you" doesn't have quite the rhetorical and moral force as Pogo's "We have met the enemy, and he is us."

One of the most striking things about *Neighbors* is that it has reminded us of the extent to which many nations, particularly in Eastern Europe, have tended to interpret the Second World War through a very strict prism of self-interest and chauvinist pride. Holocaust revisionists are well aware, for example, of the tendency of Jewish historians to interpret Jewish history in such a way that the Jewish people are always the innocent victims of someone else's wickedness; but we tend to forget that this tendency toward apologetics is common to many Europeans. In fact, the only European nation that does not engage in such chauvinist representations of its own history is Germany, and that is only because any change to the Nuremberg narrative is considered "revisionism," so that, in effect, Germans are not entitled to articulate a self-serving narrative of their past because by so doing they would encroach on someone else's self-serving narrative. On the other hand, the arguments between Poles and Jews about what happened at Jedwabne are nothing less than this.

An argument can be made for the need for Germans to tell their side of the story, if only to balance out the relentless anti-Germanism of the other narratives. However, historical revisionism, and Holocaust revisionism, should be dedicated not to simply allowing each nation's partisans a voice, but to constructing a narrative that is at once true but which also attempts to reconcile the competing patriotisms of different peoples. To do this, revisionists need to continue their work in separating fact from fiction with regard to the Holocaust story. But they also need to have studies that will challenge the different peoples of Europe — including the Jewish people — to give up parochial and chauvinist myths about the past.

Thus, as a call to Gross' former countrymen to alter their idealized vision of the past, *Neighbors* might have served a purpose, and even have been of some service

to revisionism. Yet, in this book and in other recent writings, Gross has shown a tendency to engage in apologetics — in his case, Jewish apologetics — that distort, indeed, undo the message he wishes to impart. Poles, no less than Germans or Jews or Americans, should be willing to heed the call to responsibility for their own history that Gross' book represents. But to make such a call without at least touching on the history of Polish-Jewish hostility and competition from both sides is simply to pose one species of chauvinism in place of another. For this reason the moral appeal of *Neighbors* remains seriously impaired: never a work of history, it ultimately fails even as a polemic.

Disney's \$140 Million Dud

Pearl Harbor. (2001) Genre: film (war, drama). Length: 183 minutes. MPAA rating: PG-13. Starring: Ben Affleck, Josh Hartnett, Kate Beckinsale, Alec Baldwin, Cuba Gooding, Jr., Mako, Jon Voight. Director: Michael Bay. Producer: Jerry Bruckheimer. Screenplay: Randall Wallace. Released by: Buena Vista. Grade: D.

REVIEWED BY SCOTT L. SMITH

At three hours long, *Pearl Harbor* strains to be an epic. Unfortunately, it falls short both as epic fact and epic fiction. The movie's chief focus is on the feelings and motives of a few young Americans in 1941, with a well-known Japanese attack thrown in. The 45-minute-long battle sequence just suffices to make *Pearl Harbor* a passable summer action movie. As for the rest of the film, it's a stitched-together mini-series suffers by comparison to the made-for-TV remake of *From Here to Eternity*, let alone to the original.

Nor is *Pearl Harbor* a match its 1970 predecessor, *Tora! Tora! Tora!* At the time that more focused account of "the day of infamy" was released, Japan was a firmly in the Cold War and had yet to become America's economic rival. While it was a big-budget box office bomb, *Tora! Tora! Tora!* presented the enemy with balance, though some diehard veterans grumbled about minor technical inaccuracies in a very historically detailed movie.

Similar grumbling won't affect *Pearl Harbor*'s for-

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Time magazine's cover (December 22, 1941) depicted Japan's admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander of the Combined Japanese Fleet and architect of the attack on Pearl Harbor, as a sinister Oriental mastermind in the Fu Manchu mold. Two weeks earlier, Time's December 8, 1941, issue, written before Pearl Harbor, had boasted that the American and British fleets were poised to spring on the Japanese should they snap under FDR's "war of nerves."

tunes. Screenwriter Randall Wallace simply did not write a historical documentary for enthusiasts to quibble over. While this PG-13 movie is about the Greatest Generation, it is not really for them. No need to let historical details get in the way when *Pearl Harbor*'s emotional kitsch is not even aimed at the men and women who actually experienced the war.

Two boys from Tennessee, played by Ben Affleck and Josh Hartnett, become Army aviators, and vie for the same serially monogamous Navy nurse, played by Kate Beckinsale. The characters are ultimately dull and forgettable: nearly every one of them could have been cast by MTV. Although *Pearl Harbor*'s makers loudly promised the movie would include strong female roles, its adorable nurses are looking for little more than pilot officers to marry. While this might have made a good

vehicle for Elvis Presley, action-movie director Michael Bay (*Armageddon*) was clearly overmatched by Pearl Harbor's triangulated love-dilemma: the awkward plot resolutions are implausible and unconvincing.

Pearl Harbor seeks to reinforce a vision of "America the Noble" by concocting a romantic story of historical convenience. Screenwriter Wallace's initial take on *Pearl Harbor* came from a William Faulkner story about two brothers in bucolic Mississippi who hear about the Japanese attack on the radio, with the older one going away to enlist: nobody gets away with treating America like that! When we need an American response, a quintessentially pure-American response is what we'll get.

The filmmakers want to show a new generation that Americans make stupid decisions as a people, but can be brave and worthy as individuals. It doesn't take a seminar in revisionist history to know that for Hollywood, nothing could be more stupid than isolationism. When U.S. Army combat pilot Ben Affleck leaves to shoot down Germans for the RAF — during a Battle of Britain that takes place, in this movie, in 1941, a year after it actually occurred — a British commander asks the Yank why he is so awfully anxious to die: "Not anxious to die, sir; anxious to matter." And Hollywood's Americans so want to matter, fighting other countries' wars, out of season!

We do get a little history. The Japanese actor Mako (*Seven Years in Tibet*) treats us to an uncanny period portrayal of Admiral Yamamoto, whose strike was brilliant but whose strategy was flawed. Overall, however, the Japanese are simply presented as stereotypical "nips," who deliver almost every line in staccato Jap plainsong (not quite replete with spittle on the chin). Are they plotting a surprise attack, or a corporate takeover?

The movie's efforts to provide historical context are predictably feeble: what's this thing all about — oil or something? Fortunately, we don't see enough of the enemy to really reconstitute any old venom. There is the usual Japanese spy (for once historically grounded), and even a duped Japanese-American dentist who gets an anonymous call at his office overlooking Pearl Harbor, asking humbly about the weather. But there is at least one Japanese-American good guy, a Hawaiian medic who confidently assists after the attack, and some Japanese pilots who wave Boy Scouts to take cover, an apparently true story.

There is one, rather incoherent, nod to popular revisionism (no revisionist thesis on the Second World

War has received more support than the notion that the surprise attack was no surprise — to President Franklin Roosevelt and his advisers). Dan Aykroyd, of all people, plays a captain in naval intelligence able only to voice intuitive, equivocal warnings for the deaf ears around him in Washington — a character not far removed from the spooked clients he succored in *Ghostbusters* (“Who ya gonna call?”)

Against the defenders of Pearl and its associated bases, complete surprise was achieved — no mean accomplishment! The movie compromises with the pro- and anti-Admiral Kimmel factions by depicting the commander of the Pacific Fleet, like some imperial nabob, at the golf course that Sunday morning (he wasn’t), but hurrying back to take command.

In *Pearl Harbor* the Japanese attack seems to last for hours. In fact, the movie devotes 45 minutes to the two-pronged onslaught (in actuality, the first wave lasted 40 minutes, the second 36). Here, Disney’s bombs fall with their fuses winding, like deadly toys; torpedoes churn with agonizing slowness toward their targets (the preferred point of view is that of the ordnance). Mostly the Pearl Harbor battle lacks verisimilitude, and the soundtrack is overbearing. After the long, loud, and pious orchestral accompaniment, watching the attack is like listening to a Japanese motorcycle race while watching battle scenes from *Star Wars*. If you blink once or twice the looping Zeros, Kates, and Vals turn into Tie Fighters.

Cuba Gooding, Jr. reprises his now lukewarm role of a black guy struggling to be all he can be in a segregated navy. He plays real-life Dorie Miller, a cook and pugilist on the *West Virginia* who jumps onto a machine gun that he has never been trained to use and downs a Jap plane. In reality, the black sailor may not have gotten one, but it makes for a good story and Miller, who was killed later in the war, was awarded the Navy Cross for his service at Pearl Harbor. Gooding’s character is not developed, however: a callous waste of big box-office talent.

The aftermath, as U.S. capital ships list, burn, and capsize, is just a rip-off of *Titanic*, but without the empathy. Indeed, this reviewer saw not one wet eye in the house. In a feeble tribute to the female heroes, director Bay tries to convey the chaos in the hospital during and after the attack. But with a PG-13 rating, about all that can be done to horrify us is the surreal “shakycam” style of photography long since so trendy it seems more like a bad, if not satiric, music video. Beckinsale alone is

resourceful, with nylon stockings for tourniquets and copious red lipstick to mark the foreheads of triage patients.

Meanwhile, our two flyboy heroes struggle into the air that Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, with Hawaiian shirts and hangovers to match, and manage to down seven Japanese planes between them, recreating the actual accomplishment of Lieutenants George S. Welch and Kenneth Taylor, but with fancy aerobatics that have rightly drawn scorn here and in Japan. What would the *Tora! Tora! Tora!* gadflies have made of them?

Jon Voight shines as FDR. The movie accurately shows a president very much in the minority in his desire to enter a world war, but who underestimates a despised enemy. After the Pearl Harbor attack Roosevelt promises payback for an angry nation. The military says it’s not possible, so the crippled commander-in-chief inspires them by struggling on his own to stand erect from his wheelchair. This would be absurdly out of character for the vain Mr. Roosevelt, but it certainly fits with the windy nature of our movie.

Our two fighter jocks, Affleck and Hartnett, are implausibly assigned to fly B-25 bombers for a little thirty-second public relations stunt over Tokyo on April 18, 1942, led by Lieutenant Colonel Jimmy Doolittle, played convincingly but with camp by Alec Baldwin. Showing atomic bombings would spoil the schmaltzy kind of payback that our movie promises — but by now we hardly care to wait for it any longer. Thus Doolittle’s raid seems almost the start of a second movie—but while it would have been a very interesting one, it must receive short shrift. The Doolittle raiders’ crash-landing in China merely serves to tie up the loose ends of *Pearl Harbor*’s icky love triangle, with a Christ-like sacrifice to boot, but no real surprise, and not much impact.

From *Pearl Harbor* you will likely leave unmoved after three hours of flag-waving. And if you knew nothing beforehand about the complex political dynamics that would in 1941 lead an aspiring Japanese superpower — undefeated on the battlefield, but nevertheless stuck in a Chinese quagmire not unlike our own Vietnam — brutally to awaken a military giant such as the United States, you will leave this movie none the wiser. In our modern era of button-pushing diplomacy, where cruise missiles are launched as the public opinion polls waver, this is not good history at all.

Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz and Beyond: An Exchange

Samuel Crowell's essay "Beyond Auschwitz" (in the March-April 2001 *Journal*) is spoiled by his unfounded assertion that "some portion of non-working Hungarian Jews *could* [emphasis added] have been killed," but that their number "could not have been more than a few tens of thousands at most." While Hungarian Jews may well have been executed for real or alleged violations of camp regulations, the killing of "a few tens of thousands" could only have happened as part of a limited extermination policy. Obviously, the first victims of such a policy would have been those unable to work, but as Crowell admits, many such Hungarian Jews, including children and old people, survived the war at Auschwitz and other camps — so who were the mysterious "tens of thousands" who "could have been killed"?

Since Crowell dismisses the gas chambers, such mass killings would have required other methods, most likely shooting. How is it that there is no eyewitness testimony at all to such mass shootings?

Crowell's claim that up to 55 percent of the deported Hungarian Jews may have perished before the war's end is equally absurd. Raul Hilberg, who supports the gassing and mass extermination claims, puts the number of Hungarian Jewish victims at 180,000, which means that most Hungarian deportees must have survived. How then does Crowell, who rejects the gassing myth, arrive at his impossibly high percentage? In fact, no more than several tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews can possibly have died in the camps.

Well acquainted with the documents, and possessing remarkable linguistic skills, Crowell could con-

tribute substantially to revisionist research. He should therefore refrain from making irresponsible statements that damage his credibility.

Jürgen Graf

The aim of "Beyond Auschwitz" was to derive some concrete indications about the fate of Hungarian Jews, whether from neutral sources or even those hostile to revisionism. These sources indicate beyond cavil that, assuming maximum deportations, about half of the Hungarians deported in the summer of 1944 survived the war, and that the Hungarian Jews who died, or were killed, at Auschwitz, could not realistically have exceeded 10 percent of those deported, as opposed to the 90 percent usually alleged.

Of course some will still consider these losses too high; but I see no reason to engage in special pleading for the lowest conceivable number. Part of the problem is the great difficulty in accurately establishing how many Hungarian Jews were actually deported, let alone the number who returned, the number who refused to declare themselves as Jews after the war, or the number who chose to emigrate. Clearly, Tamás Stark's estimates for these latter categories could be increased, but I see no reason to increase them without any evidence. Failing such arbitrary increases, we are left with large numbers of Hungarian Jews to account for.

On the other hand, the evidence that Szabolcs Szita and others provide indicates a very high death rate among camp inmates during the last several months of the war, due to epidemics and starvation, Allied bombing attacks, and shootings during forced marches. Since, by my calculations, Hungarian Jews would have been perhaps the largest component among Jews in the concentration

camp system at that time, it follows that their losses were probably devastating. Naturally, this supposition could be wrong, but in the absence of convincing evidence to the contrary, I see no reason to abandon it.

The same logic suggests that considerable numbers of Hungarian Jews may have died at Auschwitz. There is plenty of testimonial evidence as to the killing of Auschwitz inmates incapable of work, either by shooting or injection. Unlike the gassing claims, these allegations are not incredible, and thus ought not to be rejected out of hand. We know, too, that 70,000 people perished at Auschwitz through 1943. In 1944, by my projections, twice as many people passed through the camp as in prior years. Therefore, to assume the deaths of tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews at Auschwitz in 1944 is completely unremarkable.

Finally, Hilberg's estimated Hungarian losses are based on pre-war Hungary: these figures are not useful unless compared to his numbers for Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. The combined total should yield figures comparable to those of standard historians.

I think it is important in revisionist research to be willing to state one's conclusions conservatively and fairly. It may be that to concede a large number of deaths among Jews, or, in this case, Hungarian Jews, may damage the credibility of a revisionist among some other revisionists. On the other hand, a refusal to concede severe losses among the Jewish people, even if such projections lack the final balance of proof, will appear even more irresponsible and damaging to one's credibility to the vast majority who are not revisionists. It is this majority, I believe, that should be our audience.

Samuel Crowell

60th anniversary of “Operation Barbarossa”

Joachim Hoffmann

Stalin's War of Extermination 1941-1945

Planning, Realization and Documentation

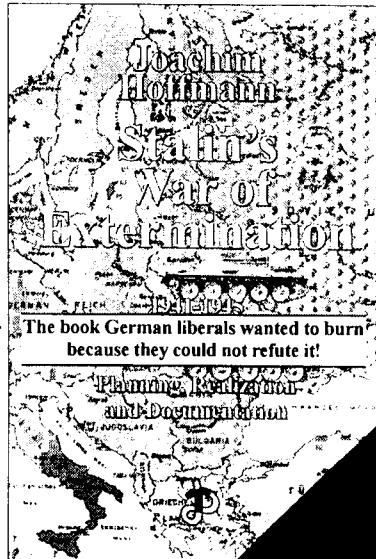
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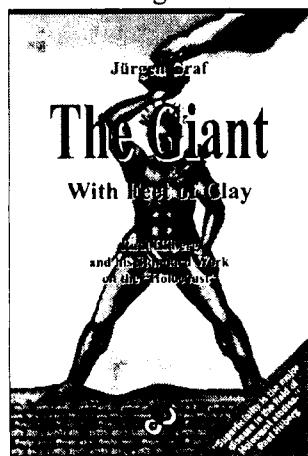
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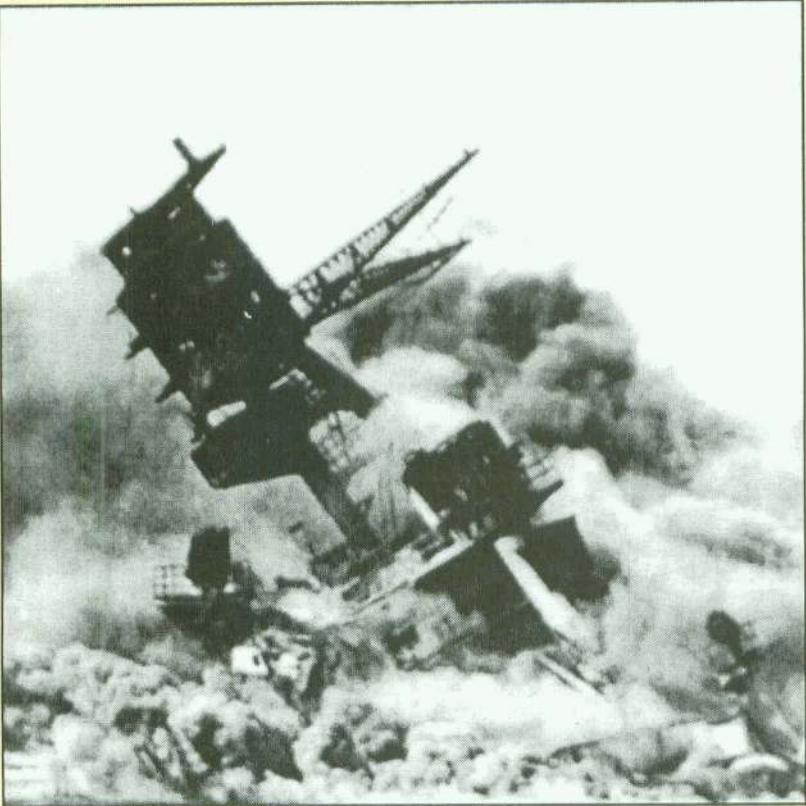
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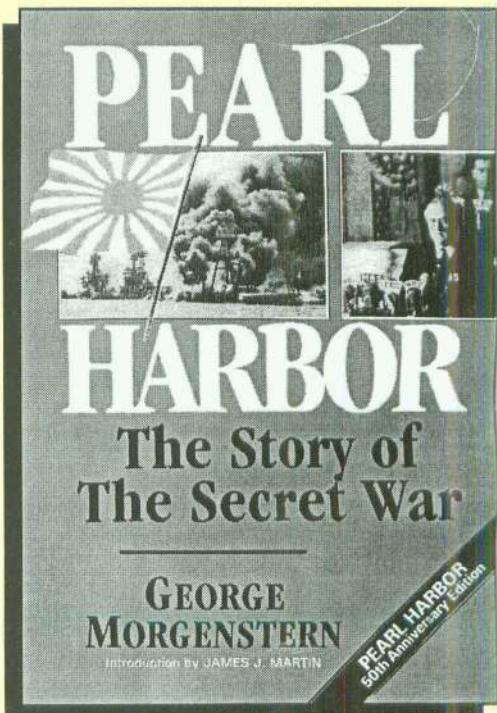
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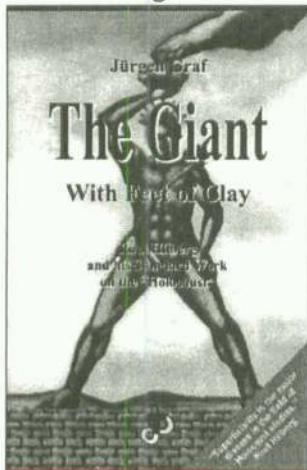
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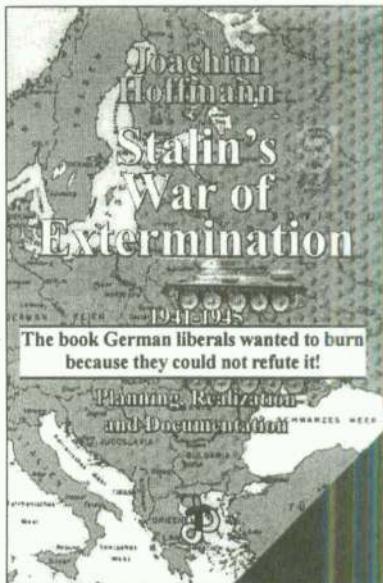
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On the cover: German rescue workers using (then) sophisticated technology to search for survivors under the rubble after an Allied air attack.

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FIRST WORD OF THE ATTACKS on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon reached us at the Institute for Historical Review shortly after 7 a.m. (PST), September 11. As we followed the breaking news on our radios and over the Internet, our initial consternation was quickly followed by an awareness of the possible implications of these events for revisionists.

Would the Institute be exposed to new pressures? Would IHR's revisionist associates abroad be vulnerable to further harassment by their governments and to additional attacks from Jewish "activists"?

Over the years, the IHR has been the target of terrorist assaults on its employees and premises. These have included the vandalizing of our vehicles; physical attacks; shots fired into our offices; and firebombings culminating in the July 4, 1984, destruction of our offices and stock. Those responsible for these criminal acts have never been identified, let alone apprehended, but there is little doubt that they are part of that international Zionist terror apparatus so often ignored by our leaders, law enforcement agencies, and media.

These efforts to terrorize the Institute not only failed, they have had as their effect increased security measures and a heightened vigilance against all comers. Thus we were prepared for anything from governmental snooping in the name of "security" to cutoffs in Internet service due to "business decisions," and even "demonstrations" mounted by what's left of the Jewish Defense League. Thus, too — need it be said? — we were able to dismiss any consideration of muzzling the Institute's voice, whether out of timidity or "patriotic" piety, and to renew our resolution to confront our leadership with its mistakes, past and present, as revealed by painstaking and nonpartisan review of the historical record.

The decision to devote this issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* to the fast brewing, though undeclared, "war on terror," was an obvious one. As the lead editorial makes clear, the conflict arises out of causes and factors that revisionists have long warned of, from America's infatuation with Israel to our short-sighted, selfish meddlings in the Islamic world.

Despite the existence of a growing Arab and Muslim lobby, the Institute and its journal are uniquely qualified to inform the American, and world, publics of the facts and implications of our leaders' Middle Eastern policy mistakes. As the IHR's quick response to the September 11 attacks, written by director Mark Weber,

demonstrates, the Institute has no organizational rival in its ability to express the facts reasonably, effectively, and without concession to the political shibboleths and historical taboos which cripple so many other attempts to explain events.

News of an important, though little noticed, libel trial in Israel, and a brief account of the longstanding Zionist campaign to smear an eminent Palestinian nationalist as an accomplice to the "Holocaust," signal a trend toward more material about the Mideast in coming issues of the JHR. No one can question the critical need for this focus; and this issue's reports on the troubled historiography of Israel's 1948 ethnic cleansing and on the propaganda frame-up of Haj Amin al Husseini relate closely to the *Journal's* traditional revisionist concerns.

In their attempts to provide context for the September 11 disasters, the best that most commentators could do was to evoke the Battle of Britain. A rather more illuminating comparison, perhaps, is offered by the vast sufferings of German civilians and the selfless struggles of German emergency personnel through five years of Allied terror from the air, as detailed by Samuel Crowell in "Defending against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945." This essay, although written several years ago (for the Committee on Open Debate of the Holocaust's website at www.codoh.com), is more timely than ever. Crowell's measured tone and absence of direct censure for the authors of the attacks that claimed in excess of 600,000 civilian lives make his article's unspoken indictment of the unpunished attackers — Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and their underlings — all the more effective.

Mark Weber assesses David Irving's long anticipated middle volume of his wartime biographical trilogy on Churchill. This new volume, in its exposé of the weakness that lay beneath Churchill's bluster, is timely for its implicit warning against the intellectual obtuseness and moral blindness that threatens America today. While the United States, unlike Churchill's Britain in the last world war, is nobody's junior partner, we may well profit from Churchill's legacy, that of a man who, in six years, fumbled away his country's imperial past and blighted its national future, bequeathing in their stead a handful of empty phrases and grandiloquent gestures.

— Theodore J. O'Keefe

Our Mission and the New War

AFTER AN IMPERIAL CENTURY ABROAD, America has suffered, on its home soil, an attack on its citizens unprecedented in its history. As so often in the past six decades, whether at Dresden or Hiroshima, Beirut or Baghdad, terror came from the sky. At this writing, the United States is once again waging an undeclared war on an ill-defined enemy. To date, our government has failed to acknowledge the stated grievances of those it considers the attackers, to clarify the underlying causes of the war, or to specify what the nation hopes to win.

We at the Institute for Historical Review shared, with hundreds of millions of Americans and friends of America around the globe, first the emotions of shock and disbelief, then those of sorrow and anger. Each of those feelings was reinforced by the terrible, surreal images of the destruction, and by the news of the great toll of lives among the helpless, and among the brave men who had gone to their rescue.

The civilian deaths from the attacks of September 11, while certainly far short of the “collateral damage” in civilian losses inflicted by U.S. forces in military operations during the past quarter century — including those in Iran, Lebanon, Grenada, Libya, Panama, Kuwait, Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Serbia, and Afghanistan — easily outnumber all our military dead since 1975. The devastation here, among the dead, the injured, and the bereaved, recalls to us American revisionists, at least, things that we as a nation had inflicted, but until September 11, 2001, not endured.

As revisionists, we are suspicious of official explanations, and wary of appeals to patriotism. If the admonitions of America’s Founding Fathers to avoid entanglements abroad, above all those arising from sentimental (or venal) attachments to foreign nations and causes, were not enough, we would need only recall how our leaders have inveigled our country into one war, “conflict,” or “peacekeeping operation” after another since 1898. Today’s slogans, in echo of yesteryear’s “Remember the Maine!” and “Remember Pearl Harbor!” should serve not so much to summon to a vengeance that may well be largely misplaced, but to remind that our imperial victories over Germany and Japan have sent us stumbling into quagmire and defeat in Asia, and to the brink of mutual nuclear devastation with our former Soviet ally.

Crusade or Coalition?

A month after the attacks, American bombs were still falling on Afghanistan, and the alleged mastermind of the terror, erstwhile CIA protégé Osama bin Laden, was still at large. For all the frenzied jingoism directed at the shadowy Saudi — archetype of Asiatic villainy, in the mold of Tipu Sahib and Fu Manchu, that he has become — the vital interests of Americans hang on the nature of the larger American response, strategic and diplomatic, that continues to take shape as of this writing.

Political realities indicate two possible courses of action. The first is for the United States to lead a broad coalition, including Muslim nations, with its goals not merely to punish the specific attackers, but to impose a just and workable solution of the Palestinian question, and to scale back the massive American military presence in Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The alternative is for America to embark on an open-ended jihad against Islam, on the pretext of rooting out “terrorism,” that would threaten the lives and liberties of its citizens as never before. Taking the first course would likely benefit not only the United States, but also the civilized world, including the Muslim nations. Choosing the second would serve only two kinds of fanatics: those radical Muslims who evidently seek an expanding, escalating war against the alleged enemies of Islam, and those Zionist fanatics in the West as well as in Israel and its patently illegal colonies who have already done so much to unleash armageddon on their neighbors, on themselves, and on the rest of the humanity.

Set in this stern context, President Bush’s first fumbling pronouncements did not reassure. The president quickly managed to affront potential Muslim allies by calling for a “crusade” against the attackers, then seemed to usurp the Almighty by dubbing the planned retaliatory strike “Operation Infinite Justice.” Omitting all mention of our long and partisan involvement on behalf of Israel, or of our numerous recent sallies against Islamic countries, Bush informed the American people that the terrorists’ entire motivation had been blind hatred of our freedom and our goodness.

The president’s initial ineptness, together with the general haste to legislate and to decree without debate, the strident demand for “unity,” and the baying chorus of pundits and yahoos in support of instant attacks on Israel’s enemies, all made it seem, in the first fortnight

after September 11, that America was being rushed to war against nebulous foes, and that a government clampdown on civil liberties might follow.

Then President Bush, clearly harkening to the advice of the American wing of his administration, began to give promise of charting a measured response to the attacks. To the disgruntlement of the pro-Israel forces, the United States sought the cooperation of Muslim countries, including such “radical” states as Pakistan, Iran, Syria, as well as “moderate” Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. The president scaled down his original calls for a quixotic, worldwide war against terrorists and those who “harbor” them; redubbed the military operation, somewhat less grandiosely, “Enduring Freedom”; and even expressed care to minimize civilian casualties. Secretary of State Colin Powell, who earlier in the month had ordered a U.S. delegation to exit an international conference on racism in solidarity with Israel against the world, now took steps to rein in Israel and to urge a viable statehood for the Palestinians.

This turn in American policy was abetted by the intransigence and incompetence of such influential Israelis as Binyamin Netanyahu, the former prime minister, who initially hailed the murderous attacks on New York and Washington as “very good” for Israel, and the current foreign minister, Shimon Peres, who called for the United States to lead an anti-terror crusade — that Israel would sit out. Then it was the turn of Israel’s prime minister, Ariel Sharon, whose cumulative brutalities — unchecked by his American patron — have done more than anything else to bring the Middle Eastern cauldron to its present boil. When Sharon discovered that a more sensible policy seemed to be taking shape in Washington, he insultingly invoked the old “appeasement” canard, wailing that Israel was being sold out, as Czechoslovakia allegedly was at Munich in 1938. Instead of being truckled to, however, Sharon was quickly put in his place by President Bush’s Jewish spokesman, Ari Fleischer.

Despite all the indications that U.S. intentions might be to limit its military action to reasonable objectives, the prognosis remained cloudy as this issue of the JHR went to press. The powerful Zionist lobby is still in place, and is bringing great pressure to widen the war to include attacking Iraq and other Israeli bugbears with no provable links to the events of September 11. And to date the United States has made no observable moves to end Israeli aggression against the current Palestinian

territories, which continue to be besieged and invaded by Israeli troops with American ordnance.

The Task of Revisionism

Few longtime readers of the *Journal of Historical Review* can have been surprised to learn that the attacks of September 11 stemmed from America’s failed policies in the Middle East, above all from its unconditional support for Israel. The revisionist critique of these policies has been a vital component of the Institute’s work since its founding nearly a quarter century ago. During the past twenty-five years the IHR has welcomed such learned critics of our nation’s Middle Eastern mistakes as Alfred Lilienthal, Robert John, the late Ivor Benson, former Congressman Paul McCloskey, and the Palestinian scholars Sami Hadawi, Issa Nakhleh, and Ibrahim Alloush to its conferences and the pages of the JHR.

As we of the Institute know, to understand the origins of the present Middle East quagmire requires grounding in the central object of revisionist study: an unbiased accounting of the origins, conduct, and outcome of the twentieth century’s world wars. It was during the First World War that Great Britain, to enlist international Jewry’s power of the purse and the press on behalf of the Entente, issued the Balfour declaration promising the Jews a homeland in (then Turkish-ruled) Palestine; among the postwar settlements was the League of Nations mandate whereby the Zionists began laying the basis for a Jewish state in Palestine, and for the dispossession of the land’s Arab inhabitants.

After helping secure American entry into the Second World War on the side of England and the U.S.S.R., Jews — many of them Zionists — played an increasing part in charting policy, during and after that war, that began America’s tilt away from its traditional Mideast policy toward one of recognition, friendship, and eventually support for Israel. Just as the Jewish “homeland” was implemented under the authority of the League of Nations, so too is Israel a creature of the United Nations (for all its subsequent defiance of UN resolutions). And when Palestine’s Arab inhabitants were dispossessed in 1948, they were replaced largely by Jews who had emigrated from war-wrecked Europe.

Even more striking than the diplomatic antecedents has been the Zionists’ exploitation of propaganda themes developed during the world wars. Israel is an embattled “democracy” ever menaced by “aggression” from its enemies, always vulnerable to “appeasement”

by its allies (as its prime minister has just sought to remind us). Above all Israel is threatened by another "Holocaust," a dubious danger which Israel's increasingly sophisticated and potent international lobby has nonetheless parlayed into a bugbear, a fundraising operation, an excuse for censorship, and a means of moral blackmail unrivaled in the annals of persuasion. Few things testify to the relatedness of Middle East and world war revisionism than the manner in which Israel's conflicts served to crystallize the obsession of Jews with the alleged "Holocaust" in the 1970s, and to subsequently inflate that to full-blown Holocaustomania among Jews and gentiles alike.

Only the IHR, among opponents of America's unconditional support for Israel, has properly grasped the nexus between that support, the Holocaust cult, and the other myths from the Second World War, or understood why the "good war" (as its Jewish chroniclers lovingly call it) must never be allowed to end, and the Holocaust never fade. Like other critics, IHR has been blacked out by the major media and the academy: in the estimation of the Israel lobby, our arguments and positions, presented to the American people, would be irrefutable. Even so, by using the new and still uncontrolled medium of the Internet, and by reaching out to new constituencies, including the Institute's rapidly multiplying contacts in the Muslim world, we can capitalize on the growing urgency of the revisionist message at speeds that round the globe in minutes.

Whatever revisionists' grasp of the past, we cannot foresee the future. What kind of war our country will eventually make this, against whom, and on behalf of



Photos of Israel's bombing of Beirut, Lebanon, during its 1982 invasion evoke images of the burning and collapse of the World Trade Center towers in lower Manhattan. The assault on Beirut, carried out with U.S.-supplied cluster bombs and heavy artillery in violation of American law, lasted through most of the summer and resulted in an estimated twenty thousand deaths, the great majority of them among non-combatants. (Source: I. Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, vol. 2)

whom, is hardly clear now. If, however, America wages the sort of war Israel and its American backers desire, then it is, alas, likely that many more innocent Americans will have cause for sorrow — and the blank check on U.S. dollars that we long ago handed the Israelis will be followed by another one, on American lives. How long, in that case, will it be before the great majority of our fellow citizens are able to join Alfred Lilienthal and the IHR in asking, "What price Israel"?

For American revisionists this is a time for calm, for



A Palestinian woman surveys the ruins of her home following a May 1987 Israeli air attack on the Ein el Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon, Lebanon. Ein el Hilweh, which was bulldozed into rubble by the Israeli army in 1982, is merely one of many Palestine refugee centers to have been attacked again and again by the Israelis, with heavy loss of life. (Source: I. Nakhleh, *Encyclopedia of the Palestine Problem*, vol. 2)

clarity of purpose, for strength of will, and for civic engagement to the maximum of our capabilities. We at the Institute know that our voice is small. Nonetheless we are able to speak truths that few others dare whisper — and we are willing, as so many of our associates have been, to pay the price for speaking the truth. We revisionists possess a powerful method. With that method — historical revisionism — we have, despite our censors, torn the veil of deception from our enemies' holy of holies. Today it is our duty, to the nation and to humanity, to put that method, and the knowledge it has won us, to work against the hidden makers and mongers of Middle East war — the Zionists and their accomplices — and for the attainment of a just and lasting peace, at home and abroad.

A Brief Chronology of the 'Special Relationship'

- 1948: U.S. recognizes Israel; Israeli forces occupy territories assigned to Palestinians by U.N. partition plan; massacre at Deir Yasin by forces commanded by Menachem Begin; other massacres, expulsions by Israeli forces create unsolved Palestinian refugee problem; U.N. mediator Folke Bernadotte murdered on orders of Yitzhak Shamir; President Truman authorizes initial U.S. economic aid to Israel, which reaches an estimated \$90 billion by 2001
- 1953: Israeli army unit commanded by Ariel Sharon attacks West Bank village of Kibya, dynamiting numerous homes, killing over 50 civilians
- 1954: Israeli agents bomb American installations in Egypt in an attempt to rupture U.S.-Egyptian relations
- 1956: U.S., under Eisenhower, condemns Israeli invasion of Egypt, pressures Israel to withdraw from Sinai in the next year
- 1967: Israel invades and occupies parts of Jordan, Egypt, and Syria,

Serbia have seemed somehow unreal. Few ordinary Americans pay attention, because U.S. military actions normally have little impact on their day-to-day lives.

Just as residents of Rome in the second century hardly noticed the battles fought by their troops on the outer edges of the Roman empire, residents of Seattle and Cleveland today barely concern themselves with the devastation wrought by American troops and warplanes in, for example, Iraq.

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General, has accused the United States of committing "a crime against humanity" against the people of Iraq "that exceeds all others in its magnitude, cruelty and portent." Citing United Nations agency reports and his own on-site investigations, Clark charged in 1996 that the scarcity of food and medicine as a result of sanctions against Iraq imposed by the United States since 1990, and U.S. bombings of the country, had caused the deaths of more than a million people, including more than half a million children.

Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State in President Clinton's administration, defended the mass killings. During a 1996 interview she was asked: "We have heard that half a million children have died [as a result of sanctions against Iraq]. I mean, that is more children than died in Hiroshima ... Is the price worth it?" Albright replied: "... We think the price is worth it." (*60 Minutes*, May 12, 1996).

President Bush is now pledging a "crusade," a "war against terrorism" and a "sustained campaign" to "eradicate the evil of terrorism."

But such calls sound hollow given the U.S. government's own record of support for terrorism, for example during the Vietnam war. During the 1980s, the U.S. supported "terrorists" in Afghanistan — including Osama bin Laden, now the "prime suspect" in the September 11 attacks — in their struggle to drive out the Soviet invaders.

American presidents have warmly welcomed to the White House Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir, two Israeli prime ministers with well-documented records as terrorists. President Bush himself has welcomed to Washington Israel's current prime minister, Ariel Sharon, whose forces have been carrying out assassinations of Palestinian leaders and murderous "retaliatory" strikes against Palestinians. Even an official Israeli commission found that Sharon bore some responsibility for the 1982 massacres of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

Jewish and Zionist leaders, and their American servants, have predictably lost no time exploiting the September 11 attacks to further their own interests. Taking advantage of the current national mood of blind rage and revenge, they demand new U.S. military action against Israel's many enemies.

In the weeks to come, therefore, we can expect the U.S. government, supported by an enraged public, to lash out violently. The great danger is that an emotion-driven, reactive response will aggravate underlying tensions and encourage new acts of murderous violence.

What is needed now is not a vengeful "crusade," but coherent, reasoned policies based on sanity and justice.

In the months and years ahead, most Americans will doubtless continue to accept what their political leaders and the mass media tell them.

But the jolting impact of the September 11 attacks — which have, for the first time, brought to our cities the terror and devastation of attacks from the sky — will also encourage growing numbers of thoughtful Americans to see through the lies propagated by our nation's political and cultural elite, and its Zionist allies, to impose their will around the world. More and more people will understand that their government's overseas policies inevitably have consequences even here at home.

In 1948, as the Zionist state was being established in Palestine, U.S. Secretary of State George C. Marshall, along with nearly every other high-level U.S. foreign affairs specialist, warned that American support for Israel would have dire long-term consequences. Events have fully vindicated their concerns.

Over the long run, the September 11 attacks will encourage public awareness of our government's imperial role in the world, including a sobering reassessment of this country's perverse "special relationship" with the Jewish ethnosestate. Along with that, rage will grow against those who have subordinated American interests, and basic justice and humanity, to Jewish-Zionist ambitions.

For more than 20 years the IHR has sought, through its educational work, to prevent precisely such horrors as the attacks in New York and Washington. In the years ahead, as we continue our mission of promoting greater public awareness of history and world affairs, and a greater sense of public responsibility for the policies that generated the rage behind the September 11 attacks, this work will be more important than ever.



Palestine فلسطين
Tantura Haifa الطنطورة - حيفا

ابراهيم عيسى مطران

Idyllic aerial photo of the site of the Mediterranean fishing village of Tantura (viewable in color at <http://ns1.palestineremembered.com/Haifa/al-Tantura/Picture3150.html>). Inhabited for an estimated four thousand years, Tantura's environs contain Canaanite, Greek, and Crusader antiquities, and shipwrecks from Roman and Byzantine times dot its lagoon. In 1948 Israeli army troops killed 250 unarmed Palestinians there, then drove the remaining 1,250 inhabitants out of the village. The villagers' homes were later demolished and a Jewish settlement erected nearby.

Oblivion in the Land of Memory

THE MASSACRE AT DEIR YASIN, the Palestinian village near Jerusalem where Menachem Begin's Irgun and Yitzhak Shamir's Lehi slaughtered over two hundred fifty Palestinians on April 9, 1948, has long symbolized the ruthlessness with which the Zionists seized the Holy Land and killed or displaced so many of its inhabitants. Strange to say, the notoriety of Deir Yasin may have served to obscure as many as forty similar slaughters by Israeli forces in 1948, despite the labors of an increasingly able Palestinian historiography, and of an Israeli revisionism that has re-examined the expulsion and flight of three quarters of a million Arabs from their homes during the "war of independence."

A recent issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies* (20, no. 3, spring 2001), by way of a report on the fate of a master's thesis in history devoted to one such massacre, throws needed light on Israel's past and present.

army's Alexandroni brigade, the military unit involved. Katz's findings, culled from the interviews, amplified by additional written accounts, revealed that Israeli forces shot over two hundred Palestinians after they had been disarmed. The killings took place in two stages, the first a rampage by the Israeli infantry immediately after Palestinian resistance had ceased, the second the cold-blooded and systematic shootings of suspected Arab soldiers by Israeli intelligence. The details included the shootings of sons in the presence of fathers, fathers in the presence of sons, rapes, and other horrors.

Katz's thesis, which received high marks, might have remained unnoticed except for an article in Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv* in January 2000, which was quickly followed by a libel suit by Israeli veterans of the Alexandroni brigade who had taken part, including some who had been interviewed by Katz. In the trial, which began in December 2000, the plaintiffs were able to show only minor discrepancies in Katz's references. Nonetheless

The author of the thesis, Teddy Katz, a committed Zionist studying the history of Israel's 1948 war at the University of Haifa, was investigating the "microhistory" of Jewish expulsions of Arabs around Haifa when he stumbled across a mass shooting of unarmed inhabitants of Tantura, a fishing village twenty miles south of Haifa, by Israeli regular troops immediately following their capture of village on May 22-23, 1948.

Since the written record was slight and elliptical, Katz recorded several dozen interviews with surviving villagers, and with veterans of the Israeli

Teddy Katz suddenly aborted the trial by retracting his master's thesis with a published apology that brings to mind confessions in the old Soviet Union, or (more to the point) the apologies of certain Jewish revisionists of the Holocaust who have come under duress. The attack on the Katz thesis and its author's integrity by Israeli academics, including those from his own university, reminds, too, of the long campaign to strip Holocaust revisionists of their academic degrees, including those earned for work which had no relation to their subsequent revisionist activities.

Israeli professor of history Ilan Pappé, who graded Katz's thesis at Haifa, provides a judicious account of the affair in the JPS, including a nuanced consideration of the validity of oral testimony in this case and in general. As Pappé notes, the libel suit against Katz is so far the only instance in which any of Israel's 1948 massacres of Palestinians has ever been subject to investigation in an Israeli court.

The Mufti and the Holocaust

AMONG THE MANY TART INSIGHTS in Robert Novick's *Holocaust in American Life* (reviewed in JHR 20, no. 1 [January–February, 2001]) is his brief consideration of the part that Haj Amin al Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem, has played in Zionist and Holocaust propaganda. As Novick notes, Husseini, the leading Palestinian nationalist leader from the 1920s through the 1940s, plays a "starring role" in the four-volume *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (edited under the auspices of Yad Vashem by Yisrael Gutman):

The article on the Mufti is more than twice as long as the articles on Goebbels and Göring, longer than the articles on Himmler and Heydrich combined, longer than the article on Eichmann — of all the biographical articles, it is exceeded in length, but only slightly, by the entry on Hitler.

There is much more to Zionist distortions of the mufti's wartime role than its vast overemphasis in the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. In fact, accusations that the mufti (the title given a judge of Islamic law) was not only privy to, but deeply involved in the alleged genocide of the Jews have been a staple of Zionist propaganda since 1945.

To be sure, Husseini was no friend of Israel. Of a prominent Palestinian family, the young ex-Ottoman

officer was appointed mufti of Jerusalem, at British behest, early in their mandate over Palestine. Any hopes that Husseini would prove a colonial tool were dashed when he led the resistance to Britain's pro-Jewish policies, culminating in the Arab revolt of 1936–1939. After he fled Palestine, the onset of war and his role in an unsuccessful rising against the British in Iraq drove Husseini to Axis Europe in 1941.

There, according to objective historians, the mufti helped the Germans with propaganda and recruiting among his fellow Muslims, steadfastly opposing any German actions that would facilitate Jewish emigration to Palestine (which National Socialist policy had earlier supported).

Those verifiable grievances have never been enough for Zionist publicists, however. The earliest accusations seem to stem from the circle of Rudolf Kastner, whose Zionist "rescue" operation dickered with Adolf Eichmann for Jewish emigration in return for trucks and other supplies in Budapest in 1944. Shortly after the war Kastner submitted an affidavit to British authorities in which he claimed that Eichmann's subordinate Dieter Wisliceny had told Kastner he was convinced that the mufti had "played a central role in the decision to exterminate the Jews." Rather than indict Husseini at Nuremberg, the British dismissed this and other charges as Zionist propaganda. (Philip Mattar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem* [NY: Columbia University Press, 1988], pp. 105–107)

In another early postwar smear effort, Simon Wiesenthal, in his 1947 *Grand Mufti — Grossagent der Achse* (Grand Mufti — Axis Agent Extraordinary), related that Husseini had visited Auschwitz and Majdanek, paying close attention in both camps to the efficiency of the crematoria, and praising personnel particularly conscientious at their grisly work. (Joseph Schechtman, *The Mufti and the Führer* [NY: Thomas Yoseloff, 1965], p. 160)

Shortly after Israeli agents kidnapped Adolf Eichmann and spirited him to his show trial in Israel, the once prominent journalist Quentin Reynolds was hired by the Israelis to do a hatchet job on Eichmann. Based on material supplied by the Zionists, Reynolds's *Minister of Death* claimed that the mufti had been a close confidante of Eichmann, and had displayed an avid interest in the extermination machinery. Reynolds quoted the mufti as telling friends "the Palestine problem will not be solved in a diplomatic conference but by other means — simple and radical like the gas cham-

bers,” and reported that “[h]is green turban was seen many times in Auschwitz, Treblinka, and Majdanek.” Yet the author offered no sources for any of these claims, which were published by Harold Guinzburg’s respected Viking Press in 1960.

Following the deaths of Kastner (in 1957) and Eichmann (in 1961), the need to displace the charge of collaboration from Zionists to Palestinians grew less urgent, and Zionist writers retreated from the more brazen charges to innuendo. Thus Joseph Schechtman’s 1965 *Mufti and the Führer*: “It is hardly accidental that the beginning of the systematic physical destruction of European Jewry by Hitler’s Third Reich roughly coincided with the Mufti’s arrival in the Axis camp,” and Zvi Elpeleg: “It is impossible to estimate the extent of the consequences of Haj Amin’s efforts to prevent the exit of the Jews from countries under Nazi occupation, nor the number of those whose rescue was foiled and who consequently perished in the Holocaust.” (*The Grand Mufti*, London: Frank Cass, 1993, p. 72)

While the more scrupulous Zionist writers have fallen back on weasel words, and the mufti goes unmentioned in such orthodox versions of the Holocaust as Hilberg’s and Reitlinger’s, the diabolization of the Palestinian freedom fighter by the Holocaust lobby continues. The website of the tax-supported Simon Wiesenthal Center’s, carrying on its namesake’s libels, profiles the mufti as follows: “He supported the Nazis, and especially their program for the mass murder of the Jews. He visited numerous death camps[,] encouraged Hitler do [sic] to extend the ‘Final Solution’ to the Jews of North Africa and Palestine.” (<http://motlc.wiesenthal.org/pages/t031/t03148.html>) Any search of the Internet will reveal many similar accusations.

As Palestinians and other Arabs discover the revisionist challenge to orthodoxy on the alleged Jewish Holocaust, they are taxed by Zionists with wielding “denial” as a weapon against Israel. Yet long before most Palestinians had ever heard of the Holocaust, they were being smeared for complicity in it, thanks to lies about one of their greatest leaders, Haj Amin al Husseini, mufti of Jerusalem.

Doug Collins Dies at 81

DOUG COLLINS, AWARD-WINNING JOURNALIST, staunch defender of freedom of speech, and friend of historical revisionism, died on September 29, 2001,

after a brief illness. He was eighty-one. He is survived by his wife, three adult sons, and seven grand-children.

From 1984 until his retirement in 1997 his regular column in the *North Shore News* of Vancouver, British Columbia, was one of paper’s most popular features. In more than 1,400 essays, Collins laid out well-informed, commonsense views on Canada’s most heated issues, including immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege “rights.” Collins delighted his readers with provocative, irreverent writing that was reminiscent of H. L. Mencken — adroitly taking aim at cant, bigotry, sophistry, and double standards in prose that was unfailingly clear, witty, and vigorous.

Few North American journalists have come under more sustained attack for their views. His detractors castigated him as a bigot, a racist, and a Hitlerite anti-Semite. At the same time, he was widely admired as a rare and defiant voice for Canada’s “silent majority.”

The column that got Collins into the hottest of hot water was a March 1994 essay, “Hollywood Propaganda” (reprinted in the May-June 1994 *Journal*), that skewered the much-hyped motion picture *Schindler’s List*. Collins referred to it as “Swindler’s List” and “hate literature in the form of films.” He also wrote that “the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood,” and dismissed the fabled “six million” Holocaust figure as “nonsense.”

The Canadian Jewish Congress responded with a legal complaint in July 1994 against Collins and the *North Shore News*, charging that the “Hollywood Propaganda” column violated British Columbia’s Human Rights Act. Collins became the first Canadian journalist to be tried for infringing “human rights,” and his defense of freedom of opinion before the British Columbia Human Rights Tribunal attracted nationwide attention. In November 1997 the tribunal rejected the CJC complaint, finding that the column, although “deliberately provocative and insulting,” did “not itself express hatred or contempt” in violation of the provincial “anti-hate” law. A subsequent complaint based on the “Hollywood Propaganda” column was upheld by the tribunal, and was being appealed when Collins died.

Until just days before his death, Collins continued turning out essays that were distributed via the Internet. As he wrote a few months before his passing: “I defended freedom in the 1940s when Hitler was on the loose, in the 1970s when the federal hate laws were passed, and in the 1990s when those idiots in Victoria

passed their misnamed Human Rights Act, and that I shall go on defending freedom until the day I die."

Distinguished Career

Collins was born in England on September 8, 1920. During the Second World War he served in the British Army. A sergeant in the infantry, he was captured in 1940 at Dunkirk. He was later awarded the Military Medal for bravery during that campaign.

During his four years as a prisoner of war, he made no fewer than ten escape attempts. He was able to escape from a German POW camp in Silesia and stealthily made his way to Hungary. After being captured there, he made another daring escape, this time making his way to Romania. There he was imprisoned once again, but when Romania capitulated in 1944, he was freed and returned to Britain, serving in combat with British forces in northwest Europe during the war's final months.

In 1952 Collins moved to Canada, where he began a distinguished career in journalism that spanned four decades. It included work as a reporter and commentator for three major daily papers: the *Calgary Herald*, the *Vancouver Sun*, and the *Vancouver Province*. He also worked for Canada's CBC television network, and for a time hosted an open-line radio talk show in Vancouver.

Doug Collins was the recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, the National Newspaper Award (1953) and the MacMillan Bloedel Award (1975). In 1993 he was awarded the Commemorative Medal for the 125th anniversary of Canada's Confederation, given to persons "who have made a significant contribution to their fellow citizens, their community, or to Canada."

Collins was the author of four books, including his wartime memoir, *POW: A Soldier's Story of His Ten Escapes from Nazi Prison Camps* (1968), and *Here We Go Again!*, a collection of one hundred of his *North Shore News* columns, including the notorious "Hollywood Propaganda," published in 1998.

Over the years numerous articles about, and essays by Doug Collins have appeared in this *Journal*. He addressed the IHR's tenth conference in 1990. His presentation, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech, and Revisionism," was published in the fall 1991 *Journal* (and is also available on audio- and videotape from the IHR).



Doug Collins addresses the 1990 IHR Conference.

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Correction

In JHR 20, no. 3 (June-July 2001), "To the Mannheim Jail: Justice and Truth in Contemporary Germany," p.36, the amount of bail reported in the sentence: "The judge rounded this down to ten months, and then set bail at sixty thousand marks" should read "six thousand marks."

Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing

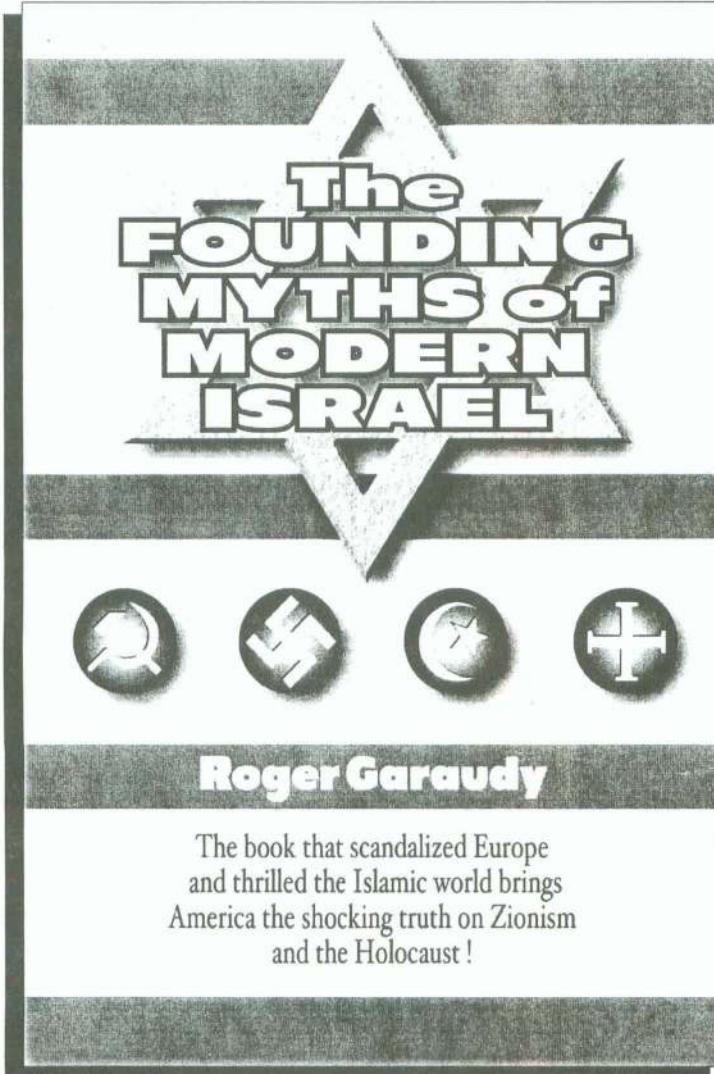
how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him \$40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

Relying on a vast range of Zionist, Soviet, American and German source references, this well-documented study is packed with hundreds of eye-opening quotations, many by prominent Jewish scholars and personalities.

Here, at last, this important work is available in a handsome, professionally edited English-language edition, with a valuable foreword by Theodore J. O'Keefe.



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Defending Against the Allied Bombing Campaign: Air Raid Shelters and Gas Protection in Germany, 1939-1945

SAMUEL CROWELL¹

RECENTLY THE ARGUMENT HAS BEEN ADVANCED that each of the crematoria at Birkenau was equipped with a gastight bomb shelter. The argument was first made in the summer of 1996 by Arthur R. Butz, with respect to Crematoria II and III in his *Vergasungskeller* article.¹ In the spring of 1997 the concept was extended to cover all of the crematoria in Birkenau in my article "Technique and Operation of German Anti-Gas Shelters in World War Two" [hereinafter, "Technique"].²

Although the identification of these spaces as gastight bomb shelters was corroborated in "Technique" by extensive reference to contemporary German civil defense literature, public acceptance of the thesis has been slow. Part of the reason, no doubt, is that the "Bomb Shelter Thesis" contradicts the work of Jean Claude Pressac and others, notably, Robert Jan van Pelt.³ In addition we must recognize that the thesis, in either the Butz or Crowell variant, seems at first glance both unusual and even extraordinary.

But the argument for bomb shelters in the Birkenau crematoria seems extraordinary only because the scope of the German civil defense program is so little known. Hence, when the crematoria are identified as having had gastight bomb shelters the first reaction of the

skeptic will be, "Why would there be alterations for the crematoria to serve as air raid shelters? Why not other buildings?" without recognizing that similar shelters were quite common in Germany, and, we believe it possible to show, also in the concentration camp system and Auschwitz-Birkenau in particular. So it should be clear that the argument for gastight bomb shelters in the Birkenau crematoria is strengthened to the extent that analogous structures can be shown to have existed both in the concentration camp system as well as in German cities.

The present article is an attempt to carry the argument for comparison and corroboration forward, in this case by supplementing the contemporary civil defense literature cited in "Technique" with secondary studies of German civil defense in the Second World War, comprising both recent German studies as well as U.S. government studies prepared in the immediate postwar period. The result will be the broader realization, widely recognized in the secondary literature, that gastight bomb shelters were a common feature on the wartime German civilian and concentration camp landscape.

We will begin by reviewing the rules and recom-

¹Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a "moderate revisionist." At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German, and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

mendations for German civil defense, and will find that the precautions the Germans took for bomb and gas attacks were extensive. A review of the actual types of structures will show a wide array of constructions, including adaptations of natural geologic formations, existing structures for secondary bomb shelter use, covered trenches for concentration camp internees, and a particular emphasis on aboveground structures, all of which were designed to defend against both bombs and gas attacks. Provisions for gastight doors, including those that would lock from the outside, reinforced concrete roofs, including those with brick ventilation shafts, and gas-filtering ventilation systems will be shown to have been quite common, according to both the documentary evidence and the oral testimony of the men, women, and children who took part in the large civil defense network. In addition, we will note the particular emphasis placed on chemical decontamination facilities, which would usually be sited in only a few dual-purpose locations in a city, and which, along with the specially trained decontamination crews, would also be used to combat vermin and the spread of infectious diseases, including typhus.

In the course of such a review we cannot pass by the opportunity to describe some of the circumstances whereby the Germans used this civil defense apparatus to maximum advantage, overcoming terror, destruction, and massive casualties to survive and endure. For if the story of the civil defense precautions in the concentration camp system is little known, so too has the German people's battle for survival in the Allied bombing campaign been largely ignored.

Civil Defense in Germany

Regulations. It was generally accepted after the First World War that aerial bombardment would be a feature of any future war, and that civilian populations would be targets. "Strategic" bombing in this sense was a kind of indirect warfare, meant to rupture the enemy's economy or demoralize its population so that the enemy army would be forced to capitulate.⁴ Such indirect warfare is a classic feature of siege warfare as well as naval blockade. The last circumstance may explain why Great Britain became the leading practitioner of strategic area bombing in the Second World War. A famous expression of Britain's point of view was made by Stanley Baldwin in the House of Commons on November 10, 1932:

I think it is well for the man in the street to real-

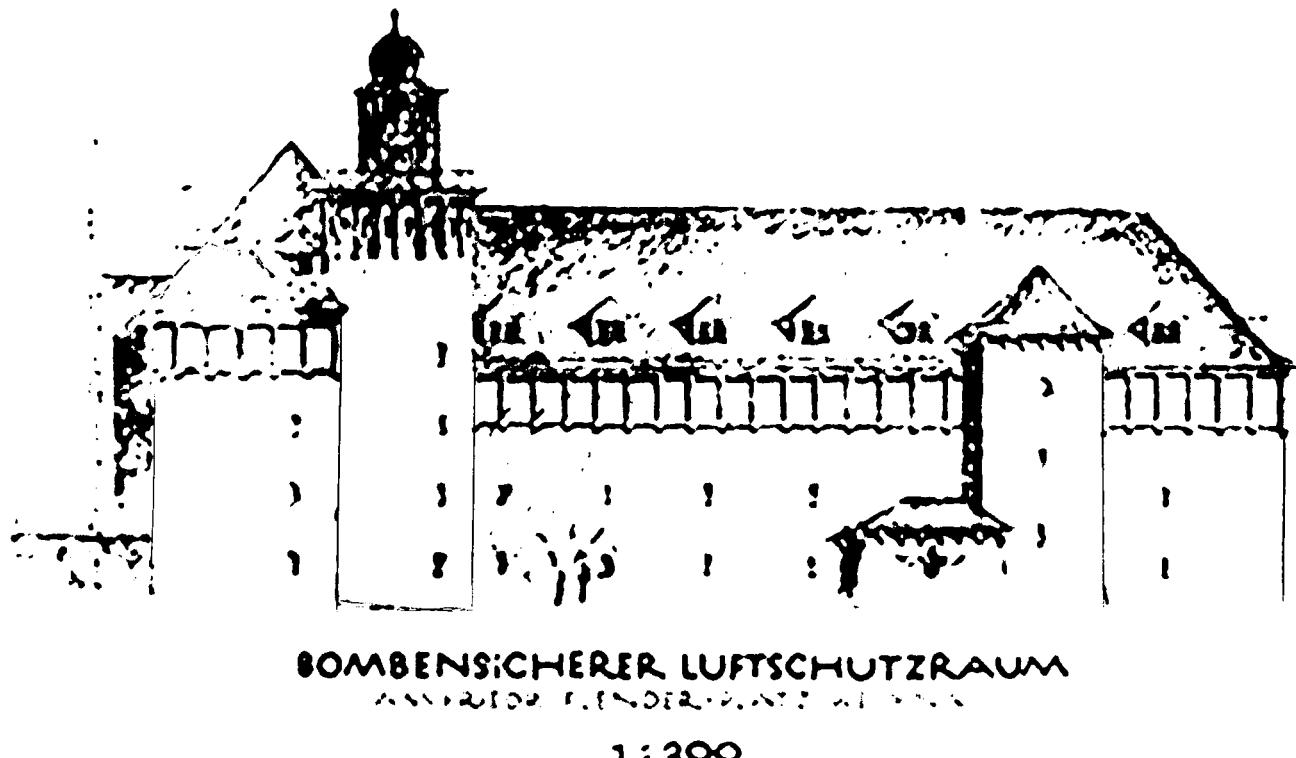
ize that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through. The only defense is in offense, which means that you have to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves. [H43f, S12] (See Key to Sources Used, p. 39.)

Recognizing such a position, Germany made attempts to protect itself passively from future air attack in the 1920s, even though active defense — searchlights, flak guns, and so on — were forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles. [S11] By 1931 the Ministry of the Interior was issuing guidelines for civil defense, and in 1932 the first issue of the *Vorläufige Ortsanweisung für den Luftschutz der Zivilbevölkerung* was issued, which by war's end would comprise twelve chapters with numerous comprehensive attachments. [S12]

After Hitler took power Germany began preparing mobilization plans, and these included provision for the defense of cities. The mobilization plans of the Luftwaffe included a special attachment breaking down the cities of Germany into Civil Defense Areas (Luftschutzorten) of Class I, II, and III. [S14] The difference in classes was primarily a matter of local control, inspection, and preparedness. The controls would be in the hands of the *Luftschutzleiter* (civil defense leader), usually the mayor or sometimes the local Nazi *gauleiter*. The 104 cities in Class I (or LSO-I) included all cities with large populations, and other cities that were considered vital for war industries. Thus Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, and Dresden were naturally LSO-I: but so was Siegen, with a population of 60,000. Siegen's inclusion was based on its location near the Ruhr, its status as a garrison city, and its war-important industries. [S16]

It would be tedious to go over the voluminous regulations governing the civil defense establishment in Germany from 1933 forwards, but there are two documents that deserve special attention: The Code of Practice for Building Shelters [*Bestimmungen für den Bau von Luftschutz Bunkern*] and the orders pertaining to the *Luftschutz Führer Sofort Programm*, that is, the Guidelines for the Emergency Air Raid Program, usually referred to as the LS-Führerprogramm.

The United States, in its postwar surveys, stressed the detailed nature of the Code and its provisions. [CD152f] In fact, the Code also laid down basic guidelines in which civil defense had to be viewed. The basic concepts turned on the collective nature of the enterprise: any program was to cover the whole city,



Drawing of a church in Weidenau, Westphalia that also functioned as a bomb shelter.

and the program had to be worked into any urban development programs. The Code gave preference to aboveground shelters, because underground shelters were costlier. In addition, it specified various details, such as the number of gas locks for entry (preferably two), the width of entries, the size of the staircases, the need for washrooms, first aid rooms, and so on. [CD153]

If the Code underlay Germany's civil defense approach, the LS-Führerprogramm of November 1940 stressed the same points with greater detail and greater urgency. By the time of its issuance, Germany was reconciled to a long air war; therefore the details of the program were meant to be comprehensive and prescriptive, as a listing of some of its provisions shows:

1. For buildings (municipal buildings, dwellings, lots) which up to now have either inadequate air raid shelters, or none at all, do-it-yourself air raid measures will be adopted.
2. Existing or newly constructed streets or transportation paths (e.g., subways and tunnels) are to be adapted for the construction of underground and bombproof air raid shelters.
3. The openings to the outside in existing air raid

shelters are to be removed and at the same time connections are to be made [to other shelters] with collapsible fire walls.

4. New public air raid shelters are to be constructed, and existing air raid shelters are to be made as bombproof as possible.
5. All new constructions, particularly in buildings for the armaments industry, are henceforth to be equipped with bombproof air raid shelters. Such shelters are to have the same priority as the structure being built itself. [S23f, N327ff]

A few clarifications to the program are necessary. "The openings to the outside" that needed to be closed has to do with the demonstrated insecurity of some emergency exits; this would lead eventually to the filling in of emergency exit passages with sand, or boxes of gravel, or even the filling in with a narrow wall. Second, the Brandmauerdurchbruch, or collapsible fire wall, was meant to connect a series of buildings, such as one would find in large cities. Such an expedient would of course be useless in situations where a building was isolated. The most striking thing about the LS-Führerprogramm, aside from the extensive construction that followed after it was issued, is the fact that it was global:

all buildings, new or old, were to be equipped with bomb shelters.

Civil Defense in Cities. The organization for civil defense in Germany was extremely widespread. The Reichsluftschutzbund (hereinafter, RLB)⁵ numbered 12 million members by 1939 [B13], and it is only reasonable to assume that its numbers swelled as the war continued. Each city had a complicated hierarchy of positions and departments whose functions were clearly marked out.

The basic structure was the Sicherheits- und Hilfsdienst (SHD) (Security and Auxiliary Service), which was further subdivided. The Sicherheitsdienst (S-Dienst) functioned as security and police in the event of air raids, the Feuerlöschdienst (F-Dienst) were the fire-fighting crews, the Instandsetzungsdienst (I-Dienst) were charged with technical and emergency repairs, including bomb disposal and the rescue of bombing victims, and the Sanitätsdienst (San-Dienst) worked closely with the Red Cross and the municipal health authorities in handling all problems of health, emergency care, and hygiene that grew out of the bombing raids. There was even a special department devoted to veterinary care, with emergency stations for the care of draft animals and pets. [N46-143]

The final division of the civil defense forces was the Entgiftungsdienst, or Decontamination Service. The decontamination workers were normally attached to the firefighters, and indeed in Nuremberg they were amalgamated with the firefighters in 1940, so that the gas protection function of the E-Dienst became auxiliary. [N77] By 1939, Nuremberg, with a population of about 450,000, had 15 decontamination squads with 15 NCOs and 300 men; in addition, there were 56 gas testers (Gasspürer) attached to the central authority. [N48] The role of the gas testers was to follow up on any suspicions of gas usage and take samples to one of 25 gas testing labs. Other fixed sites related to the work of the Decontamination Service included five decontamination centers with 5 NCOs and 20 men, and five centers for the decontamination of materials (Sachenentgiftungsanstalten), also divided among 25 personnel. The location of these stations is difficult to establish today but it is clear that they made use of existing locations that featured laundries and public bathing facilities. [N78, CD164] It seems probable also that the municipal disinfection centers (several German cities possessed these) were earmarked for dual purposes.⁶ The example of the city of Nuremberg can safely be extrapolated to Germany at large, not least because of

the global nature of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey's report, which covers German gas protection measures in detail.[CD164f]

The members of the Decontamination Service throughout Germany were issued special protective clothing, including rubberized suits and boots, and, like other important personnel in the Civil Defense Program, had higher quality gas masks (some 12 million gas masks in all were distributed). [CD153, CD164] The U.S. Strategic Survey Final Report considered it significant that the production of this anti-gas warfare gear continued until the end of the war.[CD164]

In addition, the members of the decontamination squads received special training: of the 150 hours of instruction for these auxiliary firefighters, no less than 25-1/2 hours were devoted to chemical warfare.[N78] On the other hand, in order to reduce anxiety, the average citizen received only about a half hour of chemical warfare instruction. [CD165] In addition to the decontamination squads, gas testers, the various fixed sites and their work crews, gas protection also included trucks and even ships equipped with cleansing apparatus, and chemicals and decontamination equipment, including trucks and supplies held in reserve to be sent to afflicted areas.[CD164f]

As to the application of gas protection features to air raid shelters, it was a given that bombproof also meant gasproof, as one author remarks: "Particular attention had to be given to the entrances to the bunkers. Each bunker had to have at least two entrances and each entrance had to be equipped with a gas-lock. It was understood that bombproof meant proof against gas bombs!" [S40] The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey corroborates: "All buildings and public shelters constructed or modified to house air-raid protection activities were gas proof." [CD164] Further evidence of the pervasive nature of gas protection in Germany can be found in "Technique."

Shelters and Equipment. Secondary sources pertaining to the civil defense procedures of individual cities are a good source of information on the types of shelters erected. But an extremely useful summary of such structures can also be found in an essentially contemporary publication of the U.S. government, the Civil Defense Division Final Report, issued in its second edition in January 1947.

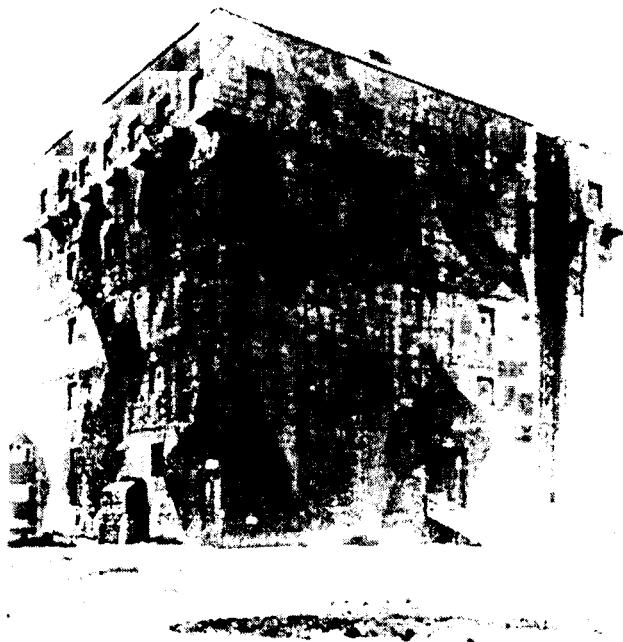
The most basic shelter was the home shelter, or do-it-yourself shelter (Behelfmässige Luftschutzraum), such as one would find in private homes or apartment buildings. Since some 22 million Germans lived in 58

cities of 100,000 or more [H128], and there were 104 cities with priority civil defense classification (i.e., *Luftschutzort I*) [S15], we can imagine that there must have been literally hundreds of thousands of cellars that were fitted out with at least minimal bomb and gas protection. Here, the numerous "how-to" articles in periodicals such as *Gasschutz und Luftschutz* indicate the extent of the preparation. According to the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, such shelters were subject to inspection and approval by the local authorities [CD155] and had to meet the following specifications:

1. at least rudimentary gas-proofing,
2. at least one emergency exit (usually to an adjoining cellar through a Brandmauerdurchbruch, or collapsible fire wall),
3. the sealing of all other openings to the outside, and
4. in some cases rudimentary struts of wooden beams or brick. [CD155]

The costs of such private shelters were frequently subsidized by the government [CD155]: a wise move, as during the heavy raids the line between private and public shelters was frequently erased. As can be imagined such basic basement shelters provided only marginal support in the heaviest raids, but the insistence on gas proofing is certainly significant in evaluating the importance and pervasiveness of anti-gas measures.

A secondary category involved semi-public shelters, which included schools and other municipal buildings. These were probably the most numerous of the various dual purpose shelters that served a public function; the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey specifies that they were equipped with gastight steel doors. [CD156] The problem with such converted shelters is that in some parts of the country, notably in the east and south, the building of communal shelters was delayed until late in the war, precisely at the point when building materials were most difficult to obtain. For example, Bavaria was long called the "Air Raid Shelter of Germany" on the understanding that it would not be bombed because of its distance from Britain. This assumption also led to the "Kinder Land Verschickung," a program in which children were evacuated from the north and west to the south. [U.S.214] But from 1943 onwards all parts of the country would be bombed, and this probably explains the variability in the children's death toll, ranging from 10 percent in places like Hamburg and Nuremberg to 30 percent in cities like Darmstadt (see discussion below) because the children in the latter locations would not have been evacuated. Acceptable bomb and gas protection seem to have been widely available in converted shelters, as we shall see, but given

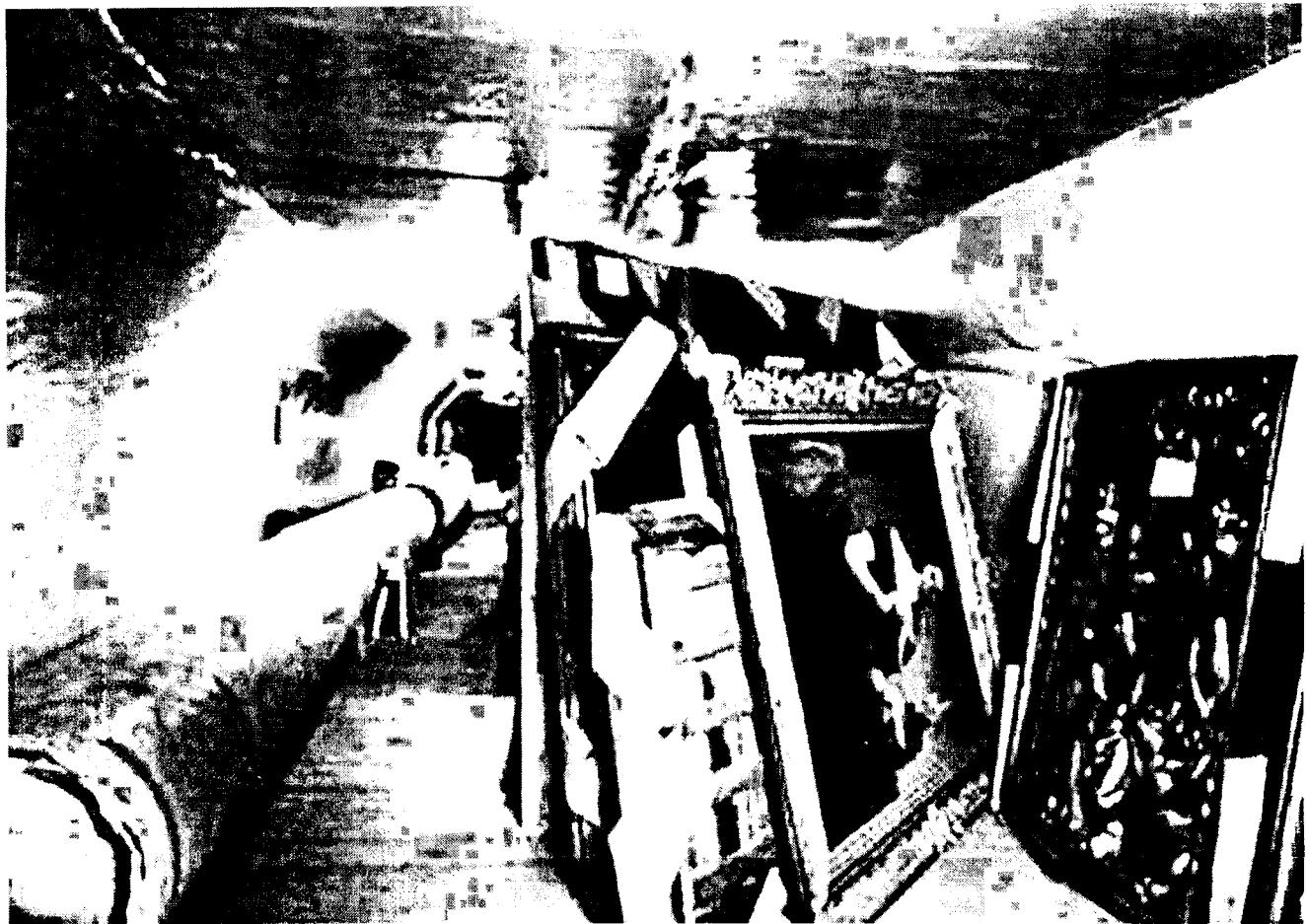


A Hochbunker, or aboveground bomb shelter. Despite their seeming exposure, Hochbunker were highly effective.

the nature of the firestorm raids from 1943 onwards these would be of little help; cities such as Munich, Augsburg, and Dresden were seriously affected by a lack of preparedness.

Of the dedicated public shelters, there were several types. Probably the most numerous of these were the trench shelters, such as one would find in the labor camps and concentration camps (these will be discussed in more detail later). Stollen, essentially semicircular tunnels bored into a hillside, were also found, although often downtown underground bunkers would mimic the structure of Stollen. Since the vertical protection would depend on the height of the hill being bored into, we can imagine that they were quite secure. The main problem with such shelters was that they could only be built where the lay of the land would support them. And there were occasional design lapses: one Stollen in Stuttgart, designed to hold 1,000, was notorious for lacking any restrooms. [S99]

Another common shelter, particularly in the cities, was the large *Luftschutzbunker*. Sometimes building these involved the expansion of existing basements, or the digging of sub-basements. The floor plans for some of these shelters are mind-boggling in size: one that was inspected could hold 10,000 people. [CD157] Although priority was given to aboveground shelters, the Germans ended up building many under ground because of the lack of space, particularly in the centers of cities.



Bomb shelters were needed to safeguard Germany's cultural treasures as well as to protect its people. Here, an underground bunker for the storage of artworks, in Nuremberg. There proved no way to defend Nuremberg's incomparable cityscape of medieval and renaissance buildings, however, and much of the city's architectural splendor perished forever under American and British bombs.

[CD157] These were usually long, flat structures with flat roofs of reinforced concrete. Forced ventilation was standard, with standard Schutzraumbelüfter, operated by electricity or by hand. Air intakes (Entlüftungsrohre) would usually be equipped with a gastight flap, as drawings indicate. [S77] Sometimes the air intake would have a large and heavily sloped brick chimney, which, due to the slope, would occupy a mass many times greater than the aperture. [N569] It was apparently not unusual to use vent pipes for camouflage purposes. [CD162]

The large Hochbunker (or aboveground bunker) was a German innovation that had no counterpart among the Allies. They were usually large concrete blocks built aboveground and designed, like the Luftschatzbunkern, for multiple use: for people, important documents, artworks. Eventual peacetime use was envisioned for the Hochbunker: indeed, in Hamburg many of these would be converted to office blocks after

the war. [G69] They could be classed in various categories, including those that were provided with false roofs and painted-on windows that looked like gigantic chateaux, others that resembled squat skyscrapers with bricked-in windows, still others that were round and faced with brick, like the keep of a castle, and still others that looked like tapered towers. [S26ff, CD157f]

Although aboveground shelters would seem particularly vulnerable because they were exposed, in practice they seem to have worked quite well. Since they were of concrete, they did not catch fire, and since they were detached from other buildings they were not as directly affected by other burning buildings; hence the effects of heat or gases would not be as great. In the Hamburg raids of late July 1943, the second to last of which created the famous firestorm, only 100 people in aboveground shelters perished, largely as a result of two direct hits on smaller structures. Considering that more than 50,000 people were killed that night and that over



A messenger boy in Hamburg who didn't make it through the firestorm. Very little remains of his body except a partial skeleton.

eleven hundred tons of high explosives were expended, that seems a remarkably low total.

Perhaps one of the most unusual public air raid shelters was the Parkhöhle in Weimar. The Parkhöhle is a long jagged series of caves that lie beneath the city, several hundred meters in length, caused by water cutting through the rock formations. Long a tourist attraction, the Parkhöhle was converted to bomb shelter use late in the war, with some brick strutting done, as well as the provision of some other equipment. Because of its size, it was not felt necessary to ventilate its long corridors. The caves were also the site of extensive archaeological work by Johann Wolfgang Goethe and his son: the ethnographic museums of Weimar today still display their finds of ancient bones and other materials from the Old Stone Age. [P19ff,49]

As already noted in the discussion in "Technique," ventilation in the air raid shelters was a problem insofar as it had to provide sufficient air per person (11 cubic feet per minute), had to provide temperatures in the acceptable range (24C to 17C), and provide for humidity control. [CD158] In addition, the more secure shel-

ters would be flooded with refugees in the event of severe raids. Overcrowding was always a problem.

It is difficult to reconstruct the number of shelters or the types of shelters built before and during the war, but various indications from the secondary literature provide a number of clues. It is known, for example, that Hamburg had over 2,000 public shelters for about 500,000 persons, out of a population of over 1 million. [G69] Wuppertal, with a population of 400,000, built or converted over 100 shelters. [S98] Since Hamburg was one of the better-prepared cities in the Reich, it is a safe inference that the rest of the residents were distributed in smaller home shelters and LS-Kellern, the colloquial name for the cellars of apartment buildings adapted for bomb shelter use. [N442] Dresden, on the other hand, had no dedicated public shelters, and only a few converted public shelters, yet home and apartment protection appears to have been up to standard. [D166f]

A detailed study of the city of Siegen provides information that can be extrapolated to the rest of the Reich. Under the LS-Führerprogramm, over 10 million RM was spent in the construction of 17 large public shelters,

another 6 million for 8 Stollen, and close to another million in the conversion of 100 or so existing buildings to semi-public shelters. For a total outlay of over 17 million Reichsmarks, Siegen was able to provide adequate public shelter for about 20 percent of its population of 60,000, the rest falling back on home and cellar shelters. [S86]

There is also the case of Nuremberg. Early in the course of the LS-Führerprogramm, four shelters were designed for a cost of 3.6 million RM, even though the city began the war with dozens of public shelters. [N385] In 1943, the budget called for 52 new public shelters, the improvement of 294 old shelters, and the strutting and splinterproofing of 3,600 home shelters for a cost of one and a half million RM. [N450] But neither in Nuremberg, nor in any other city, was funding, principally by the government, ever lacking — “Geld war genug da” — the money was there. [N385] Further data on Nuremberg indicates that in 1942 there were 13,500 Kellerräume, that is, shelters for home and apartment dwellers. [N446]

Considering that there were over 12 million in the Luftschutzbund in 1939, that over 22 million Germans lived in 58 cities highly vulnerable to air attack (over 75 cities were essentially leveled by the RAF alone) [H374f], we can easily arrive at the conclusion that the program built thousands of dedicated public shelters, tens of thousands of semi-public conversions, and hundreds of thousands of home and cellar shelters at a total cost of billions of marks.

German Civil Defense in Practice. The test of the German civil defense system came when the bombs started to fall. In spite of the careful planning, many precautions would not function in firestorm conditions. Then survival became a matter of luck, desperate courage, or strong leadership among the RLB Feldwebeln (sergeant majors) and fire wardens.

Under normal conditions the system seemed to operate well enough, with the usual precautions functioning normally. Thus one man would recall his boyhood experiences:

I was a Hitler Youth messenger. As such, I was stationed at an air raid shelter bunker built both aboveground and underground. When an air raid alarm sounded, we had to be there on time and open the bunker with the “block leader,” a party official who was responsible for the street. We had to care for the children, give them milk, and so on, if the alarm lasted a long time. [...]

The block leader or the women from the Nazis’ women’s organization sent around and handed out toys to the children and light sedatives to the adults. And the louder the attack got outside, the quieter it got in the bunker.

The underground shelters were more like “tube bunkers.” When you came through the steel door, fitted with rubber around the edges to make it airtight, you entered a diagonal hallway. This hallway was joined by three or four tube-like hallways perpendicular to it. Each of these, in turn, was a separate bunker. Air was pumped through each tube by machines which we Hitler Youth operated. That was one of our jobs. My duties also involved running messages from one bunker to another if the telephones went dead. We were outfitted with gas masks, steel helmets, etc. We had to go out at all times, even when the bombs were falling. I was 13 years old at the time. [V211]

The above not only indicates the ordinariness of underground shelters, gastight steel doors, and hand-cranked ventilators, but also the integral role that women and children played in civil defense. One woman, in Dresden, describes surviving the American daylight raid after the famous firestorm:

Normally, there were only 20 to 25 of us down in the cellar. But now, with many people off the street, including those who’d stopped over at our house, there were about 100 of us. Nevertheless, no one panicked — we were too numb and demoralized from the night before. We just sat there. The attack rolled closer, and then a bomb hit. It was like a bowling ball that bounced, or jumped perhaps, and at that moment the lights went out. The whole basement filled with dust. When the bomb carpet reached us, I crouched in a squatting position, my head between my legs. The air pressure was immense, but only for a moment. The rubber seals on the windows and the steel doors probably helped to absorb some of the impact. Someone screamed, and then it was quiet. Then a voice shouted, “It’s all right, nothing’s happened.” It was the shelter warden. [V231]

The above quote is informative in a couple of ways. It describes the typical gastight seals on steel doors and windows. Such fixtures appear to have been common, even in Dresden, where, instead of specially built bomb



A few of the tens of thousands of German civilians who perished in Hamburg during a week of Allied air attacks in 1943. The British and American bombers, aided by the first extensive use of chaff to foil German radar defenses, dropped incendiaries and high-explosives to create the first firestorm known to human history.

shelters, existing facilities were used for virtually all large public shelters. [S99f,D166f] In addition, the role of the shelter warden in maintaining calm in the shelters is suggested. Indeed, it appears in several cases that the survival of thousands if not tens of thousands depended on the leadership and resource of the Feldwebeln (sergeant majors), Branddirektoren (fire wardens), and the roving rescue squads of the SHD. The experiences of Sergeant Major Schäfer and Fire Warden Bey of the Hamburg RLB, as related to Gordon Musgrave for his *Operation Gomorrah*, are both typical and extraordinary. [G71f,73f,91f]

Schäfer was bombed out of his own apartment the day before the firestorm and had moved down the street to take up residence. When the firestorm raid began, he withdrew to the shelter of his new building, along with about 400 others. Over the course of the next half hour or so, he was led to make several trips out of the shelter into the flames, in order to determine the extent of the damage, from which he determined very early on the need for immediate evacuation. And here we encounter a common theme in shelter rescues: the need for forceful and even brutal leadership to save

lives.

In Schäfer's case, his shouted demand for evacuation was greeted with fear and apathy, a reaction often cited in the air war literature. Schäfer's response was immediate: he grabbed the first two people near the exit by the scruff of their necks, dragged them up and out into the flaming street, and took them down to the corner to point out the way to safety in a nearby park. He repeated this exercise several more times, leading out by force a number of women and their children, which in turn brought everyone else out. When everyone had exited the shelter, he followed behind. On the way, he broke into a building that was not yet in flames, rescuing another party there, then made several dashes into the street to save women whose clothing had caught fire, passed out and was revived by some his people, retreated to the park with them, found temporary relief from a water tower, and finally, after several hours, was rescued with his full complement several blocks further away. There seems little doubt that without Schäfer's energetic leadership his party would not have survived, for the building from which they escaped collapsed minutes after his departure. What makes his self-con-

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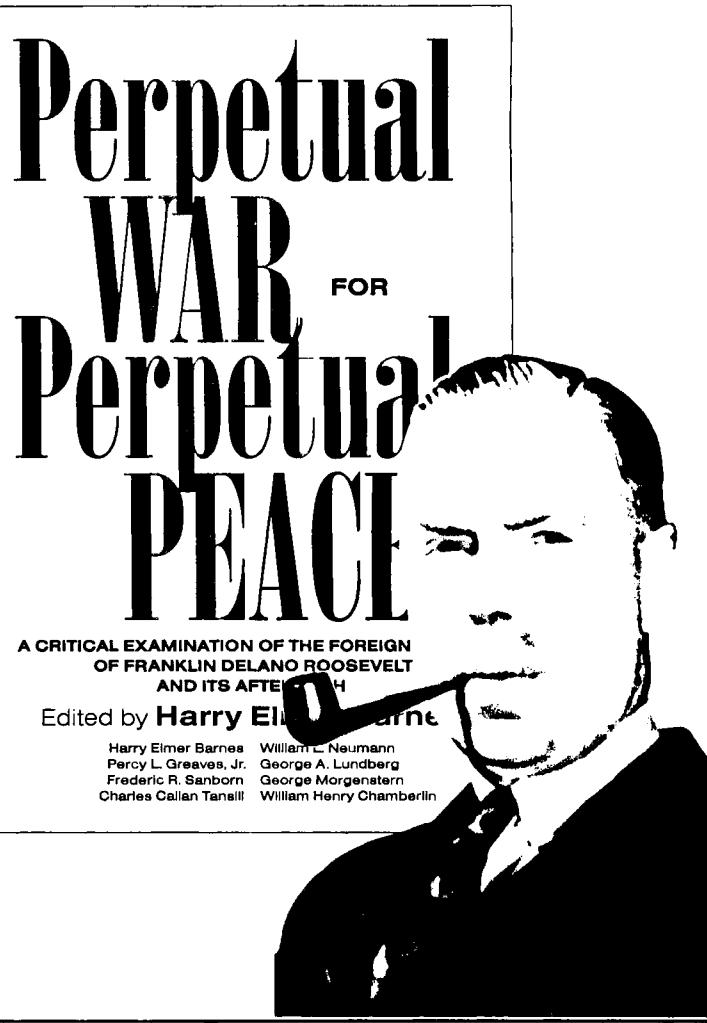
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trol and presence of mind even more remarkable is that the last person to leave his shelter was his wife, and as she did so she handed him their three-month-old child.

At this point it is necessary to pause and understand why there would be so much reluctance to leave the shelters. Most of the city raids were fire-raisers and several culminated in firestorms. Outside one had to contend with exploding bombs (including delayed action bombs), bomb splinters, falling masonry or entire buildings, and wooden roofing and construction beams that would fly around in the storm winds like matchsticks. In addition, all commentators make reference to a kind of continual shower of sparks, using metaphors like "swarms of fiery bumblebees," or "blizzards of red snow": these sparks could not only burn and blind but could also set one's clothes on fire. Finally, there was the heat, the gusting winds that would whip-saw back and forth and create clouds of sparks and debris at intersections, and which would reduce many trying to escape to crawling on all fours. Under these circumstances the difficulty in breathing was terrible: oftentimes one finds the comment "the air just wouldn't come" and similar sentiments. [U.S.22] One warden, standing outside his shelter, was seized with a terrifying premonition of his own death, and not long after, suddenly passed out. Mercifully, he was right outside of a Hochbunker, and was dragged back in to safety. [G98] Another survivor describes falling to the ground and being forced to breathe off the pavement during the firestorm, burning his lips and mouth in the process. After an hour and a half the crisis had passed. Dead people were lying all around him. [G111f] In the Dresden raid, a survivor described a group of young girls who finally took the risk to dash across a courtyard and open a gate that would allow them to escape from the fires. Yet, as they were struggling with the gate, a building nearby collapsed, killing all of them. [D170] Seeing or hearing of such situations no doubt led many, and particularly women, women with children, and the elderly, to forsake the frightening uncertainty outside for what they believed would be the comparative security of the bunker. These people rarely survived.

The leadership and professionalism of the air raid crews were of particular importance during firestorms, for here the elaborate systems of precaution frequently broke down. Collective protector ventilation systems might start billowing smoke; emergency exits and shutters might crash in from the impact of bombs and offer no more protection; fire walls might be broken down in an effort to escape, only to allow in lethal fire and smoke. Here again the human element made the differ-

ence between life and death.

Fire Warden Bey was another air raid leader in Hamburg. When the firestorm raid on Hamburg began, he was walking around the block, gathering up stragglers, but he too was soon forced to retreat to his shelter. Within a matter of minutes the street was ablaze and the shelter was becoming overcrowded with people from outside or from other shelters that had failed. Some of them wore clothes which had already begun to smolder, others had ripped their clothes off to avoid the flames. The ventilation system soon broke down and the lighting soon failed; and, while he had no real hopes of fixing it, Bey made a shrewd display of instructing a few men to work on it, hoping that that would placate his anxious crowd and give them hope. Meanwhile, Bey and one of his NCOs went out on a number of patrols looking for help or safety. No clear escape route was found, nor did they find any of the emergency squads, which were roaming the blazing city in trucks, but they did find some water, which they carried back to the bunker, by now extremely overcrowded. A series of cracks made in the connecting walls with other cellars did not lead to safety either, but brought even more dazed survivors into the shelter.

Going out into the street one more time, Bey finally flagged down a major of the SHD with a rescue party and organized an evacuation. Returning to his shelter, Bey found that his people had given up all hope, but finally he was able to coax a few to follow him out so that he could explain the plan. No sooner had he stepped onto the street to encourage the others to join him, when two adjoining buildings collapsed, knocking him down and covering him with dust and debris. Meanwhile, his observers panicked and dashed back to safety. Bey got to his feet and returned to the shelter, and finally succeeded in goading and hectoring his people into the street. One by one the people from the shelter stepped out, encouraged by an exhausted Bey, forming a human chain down two streets and into a park. After inspecting the shelter one last time, he followed behind where he found all of his people in safety. Clearly the tenacity and perseverance of Fire Warden Bey was instrumental in their survival, but so too were the roving squads of the SHD, who abandoned their role of fire monitoring and fire fighting early on in order to save as many lives as possible. In this particular case, the lives of more than 700 were spared.

A particularly harrowing example of rescue concerns the city of Braunschweig, which was bombed on October 15, 1944. Here the breakdown concerned what in retrospect would seem both foolish and tragic: the



Firefighters and decontamination workers in Nuremberg, which experienced nearly sixty Allied bombing attacks during the war.

tendency of some shelter doors to be locked and bolted from the outside to prevent panicked civilians from rushing outside prematurely. The raid began at 2:30 in the morning and developed a minor firestorm in the city center within 45 minutes. But this same area contained eight large bunkers and public shelters which housed 23,000 people. It was impossible to get through because of the firestorm, and thus the rescue of these people depended solely on the ingenuity of the firefighters.

By 5 AM they were ready. Hoses were leapfrogged forward group by group, throwing up a "water alley" of protection for the next group that would detach its hoses, move forward, reattach, and create the next segment of the alley. Overcoming numerous complexities and failures, the firefighters finally got through to the bunkers at 7 o'clock the next morning, and "As the doors were unbarred and unlocked the rescuers heard the sound of 'many people talking quietly but nervously under their breath.'" [D64f] Then the survivors were led back to safety in an enormous human chain under the canopy of water.

There is a tendency when discussing war to expect the greatest demonstrations of leadership on the battlefield, and to view civilian victims as mere passive statistics, whose numbers are then manipulated for political purposes. Yet the narratives that have been recounted here remind us otherwise. The leadership, courage, and devotion to duty demonstrated by Sergeant Major Schäfer, Fire Warden Bey, and the Braunschweig firefighters — along with many others — were in the finest traditions of any military organization. They were charged with saving as many lives as possible. At great personal risk, they accomplished that mission.

The Number of Victims. Yet it must be said that hundreds of thousands died. A usual figure for dead German civilians in the air war is about 593,000 — most round up to 600,000, others tend to argue for a lower figure, 300,000 to 400,000. [H11, DD171n] Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, insisted in his memoirs that "the total number of victims of the air war will probably never be found. In my estimation there were probably several million. The casualty figures

were never made public. They were top secret." [DD171] But the value of Höss' estimation is only a problem for those who consider him reliable in other areas.

The 593,000-600,000 figure, in turn, accepts a low estimate for Dresden, about 35,000. But it is doubtful that the figures for Dresden were so low. Hamburg, with a population of 1.2 million, suffered about 50,000 in the firestorm of July 29, 1943. But this was during the third of several attacks, and we should expect that many had fled from the city by the time of the third attack (the overall reduction in Hamburg's population was 43 percent). [G162] We know that the population of several cities was reduced as a result of air raids: Nuremberg's population of about a half million had been halved by late in the war. [N445] In addition, Hamburg suffered its terrific casualties even though it was well equipped with thousands of shelters.

On the other hand, Dresden, with a pre-war population of 600,000, had been swelled with hundreds of thousands of refugees from the east, fleeing the Soviet army: its population at the time of the raid was probably comparable to Hamburg's at that city's zenith. Dresden was also struck by a firestorm: but it lacked almost all of the safeguards present in Hamburg. There were no large Hochbunkern in Dresden where people could wait out the storm. Death from asphyxiation would seem to be guaranteed.

Additionally, the hundreds of thousands of refugees in the city would have no way of orienting themselves or knowing how to escape: we can assume panic among many of them, and desperate retreat into overcrowded underground converted public shelters that would ultimately become death traps. Moreover, since Dresden had never before been seriously bombed, the population had neither fled, nor been reduced in number, nor were they likely well versed in procedures that would save their lives: and only one, evacuation, would save them in the firestorm. On top of this, the second wave of British bombers was designed to bomb the center of the city at precisely the time when the maximum amount of aid would be in the streets trying to save the lives of the victims from the first wave: that percentage of losses must also be considered. Finally, the third blow by the Americans, next day, doubtless brought its casualties, along with the P-51 Mustangs which, according to some accounts, strafed survivors. [D182,SF180]

Finally, there is the matter of accurate counting due to the problems of cleaning up the destruction. It is well known that tens of thousands were burned on pyres in the center city, but bodies were still being recovered

when the Soviets took over the city on May 8, 1945. And, as in the case of other cities, the recovery of dead bodies was not the highest priority: bodies were recovered when possible, and there were several cases after the war when the bulldozing of previously impassable rubble turned up human remains. [G167] Hans Voigt of Bielefeld, whose diary was employed by David Irving in his famous study of the Dresden raid, described his job in the gathering, identification, and disposal of remains: his final estimate was 135,000. [D208ff] While Hamburg is usually conceded to have caused 50,000 deaths, it is well to keep in mind that at the time the death toll was given out as between 30,000-40,000 [G167]: therefore, for people to assume similar casualties at Dresden would have seemed normal at the time. However, the conditions were definitely much worse in Dresden, for the reasons given, and therefore it seems likely that the casualty figures were much higher than those of Hamburg. In that case, Hans Voigt's projection seems reasonable, which would mean that the overall loss of life in the air war was in the neighborhood of 700,000.

Of the 15,802 bodies that were identifiable after the Hamburg firestorm, 6,072 were men, 7,995 were women, and 1,735 were children (children usually meaning pre-teenage). The percentages are thus 38.4 percent men, 50.6 percent women, and 11 percent children. [G167] For Darmstadt, which also experienced a firestorm but which was not as well prepared as Hamburg, there were 936 military deaths, 368 POW deaths, and 492 foreign laborer (i.e., forced laborer) deaths. Of 6,637 identifiable civilian dead (twice that many died) 1,766 were men, 2,742 were women, and 2,129 children. The percentages are thus 26.6 percent men, 41.3 percent women, 32 percent children. [H325f] Other raids show similar breakdowns, from which we conclude that the Allied campaign directed at German civilian morale killed mostly women and children.

There is a melancholy footnote to the Dresden raid, which, whatever its final counting, was surely the worst air raid in the European theater. As is well known, Churchill proceeded with the raid because he wished to make a demonstration of British might on the continent to the Soviets. [D148,D214] In the event, however, the raid, which was promised to hold up communications and transport for the front, and thus abet the Soviet offensive, was a failure: within three days, the marshalling yards were back to limited operation, and the city was not taken until after the war was over. [D177f] It is interesting to note that Churchill, in his memoirs, describes his determined effort to ensure that

Eisenhower not capture the city. [D232] One can suggest a number of reasons for this; certainly the Americans crossed the Elbe at several other points. Popular perceptions of Dresden continue to be informed by Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Five*, a tremendously popular and widely read novel that describes the raid as "the greatest massacre in European history." [SF101] In opposition, we have the occasional little-read book which assures us that the bombing of Dresden was not a crime. As Vonnegut might say, so it goes.

After the Raids. The morning after the raids was the time for cleanup and rescue, although even before the raids were over the people would be out in the street; women putting out fires, boys working water pumps for the firefighters, members of various crews and civilians organizing ad hoc rescue operations. The first priority was locating and rescuing survivors, as well as treating the injured, who, as in a real battle, would far outnumber the dead. Doctors had been privately informed that the threat of carbon monoxide poisoning was high, even in open areas: therefore they were told to give priority to unconscious victims ahead of those who had been buried, burned, or suffered broken bones. [U.S.24f] In Hamburg alone 37,439 were injured seriously enough to be counted, including many amputees and those with severe and lifelong burns. [G167]

Locating the living had its problems, because if they were in shelters their location might have been covered by tons of brick and masonry. To help orient the crews, underground cellars were supposed to have white paint markings several meters up the side of their buildings pointing down to the air raid shelter. [N495,N540] The I-Dienst was equipped with listening equipment, which consisted of a console from which highly sensitive microphones were led and then placed in piles of rubble. A photograph from the period shows two members of a rescue crew, one gesturing for silence, as they listen intently for the sound of breathing. [N538,N79-105] Everyone was involved in rescues, including forced laborers and prisoners of war, who would be trucked in or marched in from local camps. Naturally, the prisoners and laborers did not have much choice, but it appears that in the immediate aftermath of a raid the political hatreds that had inspired it were forgotten and the common denominator of humanity took over. Irving relates how British POWs threw themselves into rescue work after Dresden, improvising listening devices, running pipes down into the debris to provide air to those below, putting themselves at risk to save lives. [D183,D194] It was probably the same after all of

the raids.

The center of the bombing zone was usually marked off, and the people were forbidden access. As Vonnegut described it, "Germans were stopped there. They were not permitted to explore the moon." [SF213] Then the work crews, supplemented by POWs and camp internees, would turn to the grisly task of recovering the dead. After the Kassel firestorm of 1943, the police president issued suggestions on the things that would be required by the rescue crews, including protective suits, rubber gloves, goggles, disinfectants, and also tobacco (probably to defeat the sense of smell), alcohol (to encourage the workers), and shears and bolt cutters to cut off the fingers of the dead wearing jewelry, which would later be used to identify the victims. [H320] Buckets of rings were recovered from the Dresden dead in this fashion. [D208] In Dresden, the devastation had been so great that there were no rubber gloves available; an American POW describes how they improvised:

The guard pointed at the corpse as one I should remove. He indicated I take a belt off another body and put it around the one I was to remove. It's surprising how much could be communicated by hand motions. I put a belt around the neck of this man and started to drag it towards the ramp, but [the body] broke in half. That was too much for me. I sort of lost it for a bit. I began to scream, yell and dance around. I tried to go out but they wouldn't let me. They got me quieted down, pointed to one of the bottles on the table and insisted I have a few swallows. That was the first I ever tasted liquor of any kind. [A408]

While it was understood that the decontamination squads would work as firefighters until needed for special purposes, it should be obvious that their protective clothing, equipment, and training made them perfectly suited for such activities as corpse handling, as well as in the disinfection of shelters, where for example "corpse water" (Leichenwasser) was found. [N77]

At that point the decontamination squads would be subordinated to the Sanitation Service (about one third of the Nuremberg decontamination personnel were so assigned) [N135], whose duties involved not only medical care but also water purification, corpse handling, garbage disposal, pest control, and disease control. [N77f,N123f,N298ff] In fact in Nuremberg, in the last years of the war, the municipal disinfection center was used not only for the combatting of rats and flies but also for the delousing of city residents. [N123f]



Victims in Hamburg. Because their clothing is intact, it is probable that they succumbed to the intense heat, rather than the flames, generated by the firestorm.

The reward for these levels of sanitation prophylaxis was that German cities were untouched by epidemics throughout the war, despite the intensive destruction. One doctor, writing for the U.S. Strategic Air Survey after the war, was "incredulous" at this fact, which he initially considered "inconceivable." [U.S.82] His explanation focused on three factors: first, the German people had high standards of personal cleanliness and orderliness even under the most extreme conditions; second, the RLB aggressively pursued a program of education on personal hygiene, for which citizens were required to attend six lectures each quarter throughout the war; and finally the cooperation (Dr. Enloe calls it "docility") [U.S.82] of the population in such measures as boiling water after an air raid or in laying out traps during designated rat extermination campaigns.

Nevertheless, there were some outbreaks of disease, including typhus fever, which did not appear until after "foreign laborers" had been imported from Eastern Europe, where the disease was endemic (it is assumed that these foreign laborers were largely Soviet POWs and Eastern Jews). [U.S.30] Although the foreign workers and POWs were inspected, and one assumes, deloused, twice on entering Germany [U.S.30f, cf.

SF86], Dr. Bauer believed that the conditions of the labor camps, including overcrowding and lack of sanitation, contributed to the outbreaks; so, too, did the air raids, in which the civilian population came into contact with the internees in the shelters, or during evacuations. He also cited the extension of working hours and the lack of soap as contributing factors. Another likely influence was the fact that the firefighting crews frequently wound up using raw sewage in combating fires. [U.S.63]

That the gas decontamination squads would become involved in such activities (corpse handling, disinfection, vermin control, and delousing) creates a number of powerful associations that point to multi-purpose roles in situations where facilities or personnel are scarce. To put it another way, the decontamination paradigm of treatment, featuring undressing, washing, and dressing in clean garments, is also the model for the handling of infectious material, including the disposal of the dead, as well as for the municipal disinfection stations, and the delousing stations in concentration camps.

Most descriptions of the cleanup procedures contain not only wrenching but also seemingly fantastic descriptions, particularly when dealing with the recovery of the dead. Thus one reads of an "undulating layer of gray ash" that is supposed to represent firestorm victims [D45], or reductions of people to puddles, or multicolored corpses, and so on. But unlike other fantastic descriptions that have emerged from the war, such descriptions have a strong documentary, forensic, and even photographic basis. After the war the United States published studies that were based on the extensive reports prepared by German doctors for the secret use of the German government. These attest to, and explain, the reality of these fantastic descriptions. [U.S., 14, 16, bibliography p. 29]

The discoloration of corpses is one feature that even historians do not seem to clearly understand. Thus, David Irving, who describes corpses that are blue, orange, and green, seems to think that carbon monoxide poisoning was somehow responsible [D48], while Max Hastings, who even cites the color purple, seems to think that the discoloration was due to pyrotechnics. [H319, H315] In short, the descriptions are not understood, so the authors have simply projected explanations onto the situation. This is human nature: confronted with sights and sounds that we do not understand, we project onto the reality an explanation that accords either with what we have been taught, or what we expect, or simple guesswork.

Corpse discoloration also accounted for similar projections by the German people during the course of the war. A particular case concerns the city of Kassel after the raid of October 22, 1943. This raid, which raised a firestorm, killed fewer than 8,000 out of a population of 228,000, and it appears that the extensive precautions of the RLB were a major factor. [D46ff] But when many of the dead were found in their shelters days after the attack, the brilliant hues their bodies had assumed brought forth the charge of poison gas usage. To stabilize the situation, doctors conducted extensive postmortems; part of their report, dated November 1, 1943, reads as follows:

Five of the corpses selected by the chief Police-doctor in Kassel, Herr Senior Staff Police-doctor Fehmel, were dissected at the cemetery. The corpses concerned, of people killed during the terror-raid on Kassel on 22.10.43, had been recovered from basements after several days. Closer particulars are not known. Two corpses were of the male sex and about 18-20 years old; three were of women, of which one was between about 50 and 60 years old, the other two about 30 years old. There were no external injuries manifest on the corpses, which were in a condition of high-degree putrefaction. [...] The skin was partly colored a uniform red as a result of the hemolysis which had set in, but in extensive areas it was already colored green. This green coloring is attributed to the action of the ammonium sulphide with the reduced hemoglobin, which had, of course, permeated the skin as a result of the hemolysis that had preceded it. *This green coloration, the analysis of which had been specially stressed in the conferences in Kassel, is as such purely a post mortem manifestation of corpses, cannot be connected with any particular poisonous chemicals which might have been employed by the enemy during the terror-raid.* [emphasis in original, D 235f]

The issue is confirmed also in mortuary literature, which clarifies the details of the Kassel report:

The first sign of putrefaction is a greenish skin discoloration appearing on the right lower abdomen about the second or third day after death. [...] Both color and smell are produced by sulphur containing intestinal gas and a breakdown of red blood cells.

Under normal conditions, the intestinal bac-



Two Hamburg women. They likely died of carbon monoxide poisoning.

teria in a corpse produce large amounts of foul-smelling gas that flows into the blood vessels and tissues. It is this gas that bloats the body, turns the skin green to purple to black, makes the tongue and eyes protrude, and often pushes the intestines out through the vagina or rectum. The gas also causes large amounts of foul-smelling blood-stained fluid to exude from the nose, mouth, and other body orifices. [I42]

This last is no doubt a reference to the "Leichenwasser" (or corpse-water) described above, which occurs as the internal organs liquefy [I 43], as well as a confirmation of such descriptions as "The bottom steps were slippery. The cellar floor was covered by an eleven- or twelve-inch deep liquid mixture of blood, flesh and bone." [D194]

The Kassel report, supplemented by the mortuary literature, is important in several respects. In the first place it makes it clear that putrefaction could engender a wide variety of hues and it is possible that fire and heat even extended this palette. [H315] Thus the claim of multi-colored corpses is strikingly confirmed. Second, the mere issuance of the report indicates not only a widespread ignorance of the discoloration that attends dead bodies, but also the widespread, if not paranoid, assumption that discolored corpses must have been killed with poison gas. This will be, I believe, an important factor to consider when evaluating Allied reports from the last days of the war. But finally, the fears of the populace with regards to the danger of poison gas were in a sense justified: although the fact was not publicized at the time, many of the victims had died from poisoning by carbon monoxide, which is, after all, a poison gas.



Another Hamburg casualty, this one literally roasted to death.

Firestorms and Carbon Monoxide. Carbon monoxide deaths were usually brought on by the fires set by the Allied bombers' incendiary bombs. To grasp the widespread nature of such deaths, we must first explain the nature of firestorms, which, in turn, will not only explain the high incidence of carbon monoxide poisoning but also some other seemingly fantastic reports pertaining to the victims of air raids.

Firestorms are caused when a number of small fires converge into a single blaze, creating a huge conflagration which in turn sucks in oxygen at high speeds and at very high temperatures. In Hamburg, the conflagration eventually enveloped 4-1/2 square miles, developed 100 mph winds [G110], and reached temperatures of at least 600 to 800 degrees Celsius [U.S.19] (other firestorms have been said to generate temperatures of 1,500 to 2,000 degrees Celsius). [H314] By way of comparison it should be noted that startup temperatures for crematoria are between 600 and 700 degrees Celsius. [I262]

Under such conditions "flash overs" or incidences of spontaneous combustion were not uncommon. [G103] Several testimonies refer to people in the street or in apparent safety in a park whose clothing would suddenly burst into flames with no apparent trigger by way of a spark. The same conditions could be found in the cellars, many which were too hot to excavate until weeks after the raid: when a cellar was reopened, it was not uncommon for the inrush of oxygen to cause the remains of victims, or coal and coke supplies, to burst into flames. [U.S.23,G167]

Carbon monoxide gas played a major role in the

fatalities, particularly in incendiary raids, which were the type usually employed against population centers. Although this development was unexpected, it was soon recognized as the typical cause of death for those found in underground cellars or bunkers. [U.S.24f] It was also a frequent cause of death in aboveground casualties, because the concentrations of the gas were so great in the streets and because heart attacks and other pathologies could result from exposure to less than lethal levels. [U.S.24f] In Wesermünde, for example, of 210 people killed in a fire caused by an air raid, 175 perished from carbon monoxide poisoning. [U.S.24] Of the victims of the Hamburg raid, 70 percent were poisoned with the lethal gas. [U.S.24] It should be noted that carbon monoxide was generated not only from incomplete combustion but also by exploding bombs: gas from a high explosive shell contained 60 percent to 70 percent carbon monoxide. [U.S.24] The Germans attempted to develop a number of tests that would test carbon monoxide hemoglobin in corpses even after putrefaction. The indications are simply astonishing: while CO levels of .5 percent can kill, some bodies found in bomb shelters contained concentrations of up to 95 percent. [U.S.25]

Aside from forensic tests, the influence of the poisonous gas could usually be detected by inspecting the posture of the remains. Because carbon monoxide is odorless, tasteless, and invisible, it is possible to inhale a lethal dose without knowing it and then simply fall into a deep sleep. As a result most carbon monoxide victims showed a relaxed and unthreatened posture when found: death was painless and came without premonition. [U.S.25] The results of their surveys presented the authorities with a dilemma, because there were no effective preventive measures to take. As a result, the secret of the CO poison gas threat was concealed from the public. [U.S.25] The Strategic Bombing Survey would report after the war:

In all the cities visited, carbon monoxide poisoning was regarded as the primary cause of death or injury, sometimes reaching to as much as 80 percent of all incendiary raid casualties. [U.S.28]

As already suggested, cleanup after the raids was a daunting proposition. Many of the dead would be found lying naked in the streets; it is known that many of these had stripped down to their shoes to avoid flash-over.

Initially, the corpses would swell, but after a few hours "the bodies shrunk to small objects with hard

brownish black skin and charring of different parts, and frequently to ashes and complete disappearance.” [U.S.22] This description, from the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, shows three photographs of shelter dead who have been between 50 percent to 80 percent cremated — the presence of hair and even clothing indicates that the destruction was achieved through high heat alone, and not through exposure to flame. [U.S.17-21, cf. figs. 8,14-16]

Access to the shelters could take months, and this would affect not only the body counts but also the appearance of the remains. In the absence of testing, the lack of escape movements indicated carbon monoxide poisoning. [U.S.25] The odor of putrefaction was a frequent clue to the location of the dead, except in cases where total cremation had occurred. [U.S.23] Bodies were often found “lying in a thick greasy black mass which was without doubt melted fat tissue.” [U.S.23] The systematic shrinkage, probably caused by the burning, which removed the water mass, led the Germans to call such victims Bombenbrandschrumpfleichen, or “fire bomb-shrunken bodies.” [U.S.23] “Many basements contained only bits of ashes and in these cases the number of casualties could only be estimated.” [U.S.23] Of course, given the temperatures that are known to have been achieved in the course of a fire-storm, none of these characterizations should be surprising. As Gordon Musgrave, a highly decorated pilot for Bomber Command, has noted:

The enormous heat seems to have turned the cellars and underground shelters into crematoria. The exits and emergency exits were surrounded by fires; steel doors, specially installed as a safety precaution, became red-hot or jammed; ceilings, weakened by excessive heat, collapsed under the weight of falling masonry; and even when they were not actually invaded by fire, many rooms were made untenable by smoke or fumes. [G94]

Musgrave was at least half right. The inhabitants of the shelters found themselves in the abnormal situation of hiding in their basements while their buildings burned above them. As the intensive heat dried them out and turned their faces puffy and red before heat stroke set in, the deadly concentrations of carbon monoxide would slowly and silently kill them. The cellars and underground shelters were both crematoria and gas chambers combined.

Civil Defense in the Camps

Three documents should be kept in mind when we try to evaluate the role of civil defense in the concentration camp administration. The first is the LS-Führerprogramm of November, 1940, which stipulated that all existing structures had to be modified for air raid shelter use and that all new structures, particularly in the armaments industry, had to have bomb shelters.

The second document is an order from Oswald Pohl, head of the SS economic administration, dated October 25, 1943, and marked Secret (Geheim!) to nineteen concentration camp commandants, including Rudolf Höss at Auschwitz, concerning the care and feeding of prisoners. The importance of this document for our purposes lies not in the fact that Pohl goes into pedantic detail about how the prisoners should be clothed and fed, even to the point of emphasizing that hot meals should not be overcooked,⁷ but in the reasons given for the document. Pohl begins:

In the past two years the labor in the concentration camps on behalf of the armaments industry has become a factor of decisive importance for the war.

The claim is specific; the prisoners are, and have long been, necessary for the armaments industry. Therefore it is not only natural that they would eventually fall under the rubric of the Führerprogramm but also that the camps would eventually be targeted for air attack, as indeed they were. Thus raids on the Buchenwald complex (including Nordhausen) killed thousands of prisoners in April 1945; after the camp was liberated days later, photographs of these dead were interpreted by many as further evidence of Nazi atrocities. [Z222, 223, n13]

The final document, whose existence could be inferred from the above, is an order issued by Heinrich Himmler on February 8, 1943. The order enumerates a number of measures that are to be carried out in the concentration camp system to prevent mass escapes in the event of air raids.⁸ Thus, no later than early February 1943, there was a heightened awareness at the highest ranks of the SS that the concentration camp system was vulnerable to air attack. It should also be noted that it was precisely at this time that the construction office of Auschwitz Birkenau began to receive a flurry of work orders for gastight fixtures. The conclusion, absent pre-suppositions, would seem to be obvious.

Developing the idea of bomb shelters in the concentration camp system is not easily achieved today. Many

of the records for the camps are not widely available and most records for the eastern camps are still in Russian or Polish archives. But there is still a variety of ways in which we can uncover clues to the existence of bomb shelters in the concentration camp system, above and beyond the documentation already noted.

In the first place, we can inspect the documents that are available and look for objects and descriptions of objects that correspond to materials in the civil defense literature. For example, references to "gastight doors" or "gastight windows" as well as "Blenden" or "Holzblenden" correspond to common civil air defense terms. At the very least, Jean Claude Pressac should be credited with unearthing no fewer than thirty-nine documents that provide strong documentary evidence that each of the Birkenau crematoria was equipped with a gastight bomb shelter.⁹

A second method would be to inspect the physical evidence, most often through photographs. For example, a number of the small "gastight" doors for Crematoria IV and V were photographed, and there is no doubt that these are identical to the wooden shutters that are discussed extensively in such periodicals as *Gasschutz und Luftschutz*. [ATO426ff, ibid.]

Perhaps the strongest example of such correspondence concerns a steel door to a medium-sized room at Majdanek concentration camp. Equipped with the characteristic round peephole with perforated steel cover, this is unambiguously a bomb shelter door, although it has never been recognized as such. Instead, it is usually claimed as the door to a delousing chamber [ATO557], and yet, in spite of this, a replica of this door was later made and is currently on display at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, where it sits as a representation of a door to an extermination gas chamber.

The same method can be applied to still other gastight fixtures. For example, a number of photographs of gastight doors with peepholes from Auschwitz-Birkenau have survived; these closely match diagrams for such doors in the contemporary literature, although, here again, such doors are usually said



Headquarters of the camp commandant at Auschwitz. The white square immediately to the right of the front door is a gastight shutter that afforded access to and from the cellar bombshelter.

just to its left, from which we may safely conclude that the cellar to this building had been converted to air raid use.

Another example concerns the so-called delousing chamber to Block 1. The bricked-in window with a smaller bricked-in aperture is very similar to the outside window indentations of ordinary aboveground shelters, and the gastight door parallels the kind found in the literature.

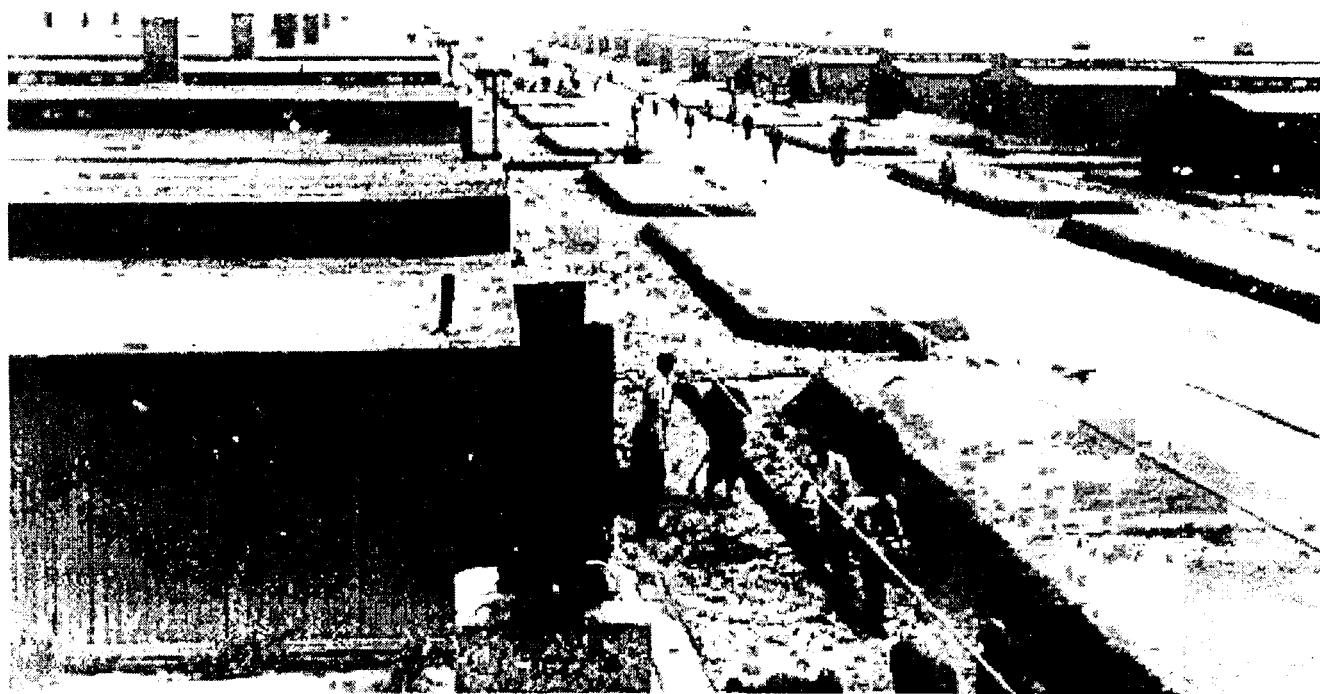
Yet the fact that this space has been described as a delousing installation makes us cautious about identifying this space as a bomb shelter, and reminds us that photographic analysis on its own is not always conclusive. On the other hand, there is a handful of work orders, which, in their abstracts from Jan Sehn's court, make reference to gastight fixtures, and these not only appear to cover the additions to Block 1 but make other references to materials which, while adequately explained in a bomb shelter context, are inexplicable in an extermination context. [ATO456f, ATO27ff]

For example, work order #516 for June 17, 1943, makes reference to the fittings for a gastight door, which was completed 10/6/43 [sic!]. But under either date the door makes no sense in terms of the claimed operation of the extermination gas chambers.

Another work order, dated July 12, 1943, contains a number of misspellings. Again, in the Polish transcript it reads: "1 Schlüssel. für Gaskammer/Melden bei H.stuf der Apotheke im 44-Revier." Pressac has made the assumption that the "44" is a misspelling for "SS" in its runic form, and therefore translates it as follows: "1 key. for gas chamber. Report to SS captain of the SS-hospital [i.e., SS-Revier] pharmacy." But this translation seems inadequate. In the first place, while Revier

to have functioned as delousing chambers.¹⁰ Pressac has argued that the doors to the crematoria morgues were identical, but there is no proof of this.

Another way in which photographs can be analyzed involves looking for tell-tale fixtures and features outside of a building. For example, a photograph of Höss' residence at Auschwitz clearly shows a gastight shutter affixed to the right of the entrance, with a narrow Lüftungsrohr



Probable bomb shelters at Birkenau. From their configuration they must have been meant for inmates as well as German camp personnel.

can mean hospital, it can also mean "district" or "area," in civil defense terminology. "SS-Revier" therefore is ambiguous, and if we are going to interpolate spellings for "44-Revier" we could just as easily interpolate "LS-Revier," which makes perfect sense, this being a common term for a civil defense district. "Gaskammer," by the same token, could be a bracket form for "Gas[schutz]kammer," a common civil defense term. Furthermore, neither delousing chambers nor "gas chambers" have keys: but gastight bomb shelter doors, if and when they were locked from the outside, were supposed to have a key inside a locked glass box nearby. [CD153f] It is perhaps also relevant that medical supplies in air raid shelters were usually kept in a small cabinet called a "Schutzraumapotheke."

The final work order appears to be directly relevant to Block 1. It reads, again in the Polish transcript, "Entwesungskamer [sic!] Die Beschläge zu 1 Tür, luftdicht mit Spion für Gaskammer, 2/1 Lattentür" (i.e., "Disinfection Chamber. Fittings for 1 door, airtight with peephole, for Gaskammer, 2/1 lath door") The first thing we note is that Entwesungskammer has been misspelled: this is chronic in the Polish transcripts. Now it is supposed that Block 1 was at one time a disinfection chamber (Entwesungskammer), yet the order refers to an airtight door with peephole for a Gaskam-

mer. But why the use of two distinct terms for what was supposedly the same operation? It is true that Gaskammer can also be used to describe disinfection facilities — the drawings for BW 5A and 5B are very clear about this — and we stress that no one has ever claimed homicidal gassings in any of these locations: thus, there is nothing sinister about the word "Gaskammer" per se. But one possible explanation would be that the Entwesungskammer, superseded in its use by other facilities, was being converted to a gastight air raid shelter, i.e., Gas[schutz]kammer. In this respect the bricked-in window, and the smaller shutter-sized aperture inside to serve for emergency exit or ventilation, along with the gastight door with peephole (which required bricking in below the old door's lintel), tend to support the bomb shelter thesis. As for the opposite interpretation, there has still been no convincing explanation for the need for a peephole in the gastight door of a delousing facility.

To sum up the issue with respect to Block 1, the inference that it was converted to bomb shelter use has significant corroboration, but not proof. To put it another way, the bomb shelter thesis explains Block 1, its physical features and its relevant work orders. The gas chamber thesis, which holds that references to gastight fixtures usually have a sinister connotation,

holes is exposed to potential breakage from inside. Finally, these steel doors can be opened from inside or outside [Cole, op. cit.], and appear to have latching mechanisms both inside and outside [ATO, 557]: Michael Berenbaum's *The World Must Know* (p. 138) provides a reverse image of one of these chambers (Room "B"), and there is apparent smudging precisely at the points on the door where the latching mechanisms would be visible.

Finally, and returning now to Birkenau, there is a further characteristic of Morgue 1 in both Crematoria II and III which is significant. Morgue 1 of Crematorium II has a vertical passageway along its western wall which features a concrete lid and metal rungs.

While Pressac describes this as a sewer, it is unclear why a sewer entrance that would allow people to climb in and out would be necessary next to Morgue 1.[ATO228,229] According to the bomb shelter thesis, this would be an emergency exit. It should be noted that Crematorium III's remains are similarly equipped.

There is also oral testimony, as well as other records. Numerous testimonies describe air raids at the Auschwitz complex, including testimonies concerning seeking shelter in below ground spaces. Danuta Czech's *Auschwitz Chronicle*¹¹ enumerates several raids on the Auschwitz complex, including a raid that ended up dropping bombs on Birkenau by mistake (this destroyed a "dugout" in Czech's words, clearly a reference to a trench shelter). The testimony of Dr. Nyiszli specifically describes the use of Morgue 1 of Crematorium II as a bomb shelter, although he also claims the same space was used for a gas chamber.¹² Other testimonies from Buchenwald, for example, describe trench shelters, while some subcamps of Buchenwald (i.e., Nordhausen) clearly describe Stollen.

To sum up, we can reconstruct the existence of bomb shelter facilities from a number of different sources. The two most prominent are language that correspond to the civil defense literature, and photographs or drawings that depict ordinary civil defense features, such as gastight doors, shutters, wire screens or other protected apertures, emergency exits, ventilation ducts, camouflage, bricked in windows, ventilation chimneys, and cellar spaces that suggest adaptations or are equipped with the characteristic zigzag construction of emergency exits.

It should be stressed that the identification of features in photographs does not prove bomb shelter use. However, the photographic evidence, supplemented by the documentary evidence and drawings, seems fairly conclusive — the crematoria at Birkenau were adapted

for bomb shelter use at a time when several other locations in that camp were also being adapted for that purpose. Keeping in mind the stipulations of the LS-Führerprogramm, which mandated that all buildings old and new should provide bomb and gas protection, the claim that the Birkenau crematoria contained gastight bomb shelters should arouse no further controversy. The question "Why would there be bomb shelters in crematoria?" is incorrectly framed: the crematoria were buildings, buildings were supposed to have bomb shelters, and therefore they had them. The real question is that, given that the crematoria served as bomb shelters, why has this fact never been recognized?¹³

Conclusions

The primary impetus for this article arose out of the desire to explore the claim that the Birkenau crematoria were equipped with gastight bomb shelters. But in the course of exploring this issue we found out much about the experience of the German people in the air war. Therefore it seems fitting that our conclusions begin and end with remarks on the bombing campaign, and the defense against it, among the civilian population.

We have found that the civil defense establishment in Germany was huge. With a 1939 enrollment in the RLB of twelve million, we are describing a body that embraced about one seventh of the population: it seems likely that there were as many people involved in civil air defense, at least part-time, as in all three branches of the Wehrmacht.

At a cost that would project to billions of marks, we have found that tremendous sums were expended on shelters of all types, including what we would conservatively estimate to be hundreds of above and below ground public shelters of reinforced concrete, thousands of public access shelters (öLSR), and tens of thousands of air raid cellars (LS-Keller) and home shelters. The regulations stipulated that all of these shelters were to be equipped for chemical warfare defense, and the references to gas- or airtight steel doors in the literature and testimony are so frequent as to scarcely deserve further comment.

Supporting these structures were the clearly articulated supporting staffs of the SHD, numbering thousands, which included decontamination crews especially equipped for chemical warfare, and specially designated locations (laundries, public baths) that in the event of gas attack would have their normal function subordinated to the role of chemical warfare

decontamination. The decontamination crews, in addition, were specially trained and equipped, which soon led to their involvement in corpse handling and other sanitation procedures. The sanitation service was in turn engaged in all kinds of sanitation prophylaxis including disinfection, pest control, and delousing of citizens to prevent the spread of infectious diseases including typhus. The fundamental identity of the decontamination, disinfection, and delousing paradigms could hardly be more clear.

Running throughout this service and its wartime operation was an intense awareness of the possibilities of gas warfare. Not merely the decontamination squads are evidence of this, but also the gas testing centers, the locations earmarked for decontaminating belongings, the special trucks loaded with decontamination equipment, the twelve million gas masks issued, the demands for gastight doors, and the ventilation systems that could filter poison gas. And, as we have seen, the fear of poison gas even entered the popular mind, such that the grotesque appearance of the victims would lead many to rashly assume that the enemy had decided to use this terrible weapon.

It would take a philosopher or a psychologist to appreciate what happened subsequently. For the documentary, forensic, and photographic evidence clearly shows that the majority of the hundreds of thousands of German men, women, and children indiscriminately killed in the air war perished from the inhalation of poisonous carbon monoxide gas and in many cases were at least partially cremated. Yet their plight was totally submerged in the postwar period by even more horrifying claims of gassing and burning made against Germans. One begins to wonder whether the suffering of the German people was forgotten, or whether it was simply inverted.

Contrasting the situation among the civilian population with that in the concentration camps, we find ample reason to expect analogous levels of bomb and gas protection. The camps were important to the war effort. Himmler expressed concerns about prisoners escaping from the system, including Auschwitz Birkenau, during air raids at precisely the time when Auschwitz Birkenau began to make numerous requests for gastight doors and other gastight fixtures such as were common for civil defense in other parts of Germany.

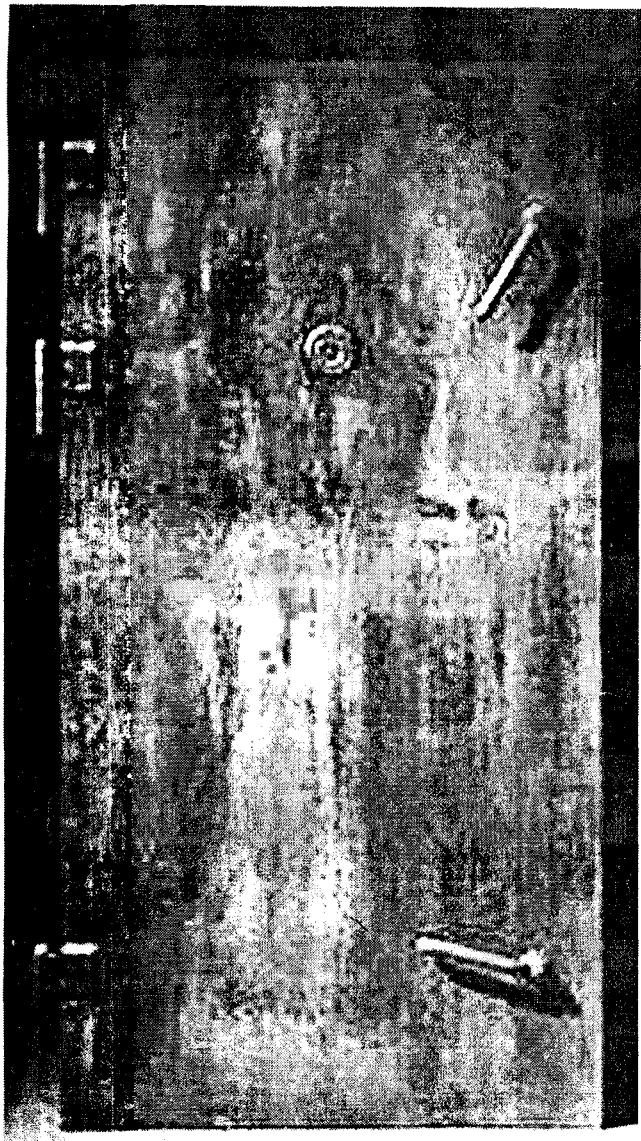
In addition to the morgues in the crematoria, which show evidence of having been converted from morgues to serve also as anti-gas shelters and decontamination centers in the event of gas attack, we find that the dor-



Wartime advertisement for bombshelter doors. The doors, manufactured by Panzerlit in Offenbach, near Frankfurt am Main, are described as gastight, fire- and heat-resistant, and secure against bomb fragments and debris.

mant morgue in Crematorium I in Auschwitz was in fact converted to a bomb shelter. And, given what we have found out about the need for cleanliness in the handling of corpses when discussing the bombing victims, the original presence of showers for corpse handlers in any crematoria should not surprise us.

The blueprints for the Birkenau Central Sauna also show evidence of dual purpose, and the characteristic aperture of an emergency exit can be clearly seen in its cellar. The disinfestation blocks BW 5A and BW 5B, which were no longer used for that purpose after late 1943, are equipped with gas locks and thus could have been easily converted, if indeed they were not built with a dual purpose in mind. Block 1 at Auschwitz provides visual evidence of having been converted to a bomb shelter in late 1943. The commandant's house was clearly converted for bomb shelter use. Finally, it appears that the prisoners themselves were provided splinter trenches in front of every barrack. Apparently there were dozens, if not hundreds, of air raid shelters at Auschwitz Birkenau; and again, bomb protection in the German scheme of things also meant gas protection.



This fiberglass casting of a gastight door at Majdanek, currently on display at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum as evidence of a homicidal gas chamber, is indistinguishable from hundreds of thousands of other such doors manufactured to protect civilians, above all women and children, from the effects of aerial bombardment.

Turning now to Majdanek, we find that the Bath and Disinfection Complex II was equipped with a gas lock at one end of the building as well as standard steel bomb shelter doors with peepholes. In addition, the interior rooms had added wooden strutting for reinforcing the roof, and at least one wooden emergency exit. In the context of the documents, the contemporary civil defense literature, and the photographic evidence, it should be obvious that the Bath and Disinfection com-

plex at Majdanek was adapted at some point in its existence to provide bomb and gas protection, and that its showers were meant to serve as a decontamination center for gassing victims.

We should note here that this same complex was claimed by the Soviets in a Special Commission report from 1944 to have been a site where 1.5 million people were gassed with Zyklon B. Yet, while no one claims more than a tenth of that number of victims for Majdanek today [Z 277, n129 surveys contemporary downward revisions], neither has anyone explained how these manifest bomb shelter features could have been misunderstood or misinterpreted for so many years.

The nature of the German people's plight in the air war has also been misunderstood. Although doubtless thousands perished in utter helplessness, hundreds of thousands more survived, thanks to the skillful preparations of the people and the RLB, and due to the courage and resourcefulness of the sergeant majors, fire wardens, and countless others. We recall that the twin objectives of the air war were the destruction of German industry and the breaking of German morale. But neither of these twin objectives was achieved, and in this light it is doubly tragic that more than fifty thousand brave British airmen perished in a fruitless venture that left a blot on Britain's conduct of the war. Far from being mere passive martyrs, the German people won the air war because they, too, did not "flag or fail." Even so, their sacrifice remains unmourned and unremembered.

Unremembered and unmourned: except for a curious and ironic artifact. If you travel to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, you will find many reminders of the terrible ordeal of the Jewish people in the course of their persecution by the German National Socialists. These objects serve as memorials to the many Jews who suffered, died, and were killed in what has come to be known as the Holocaust. But in another part of the building, alone, and dimly lit, we find a silent sentinel, which, by its presence, serves as an admonishment to those who insist on the most narrow interpretation of history, an almost *Till Eulenspiegel*-like reminder that remembrance is irrepressible, and a memorial to those German women and children who perished in the gas and flames of the air war holocaust: a steel door, with handles, a peephole, with a perforated steel cover — a German bomb shelter door.

Key to Sources Used

- A = Gerald Astor, *A Blood-Dimmed Tide* (NY: 1992)
- ATO = Jean Claude Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (NY: The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989)
- B = Helmut Vogt, *Das 5. Luftschutzrevier von Bonn* (Bonn: 1994)
- CD = United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Civilian Defense Division Final Report, 2nd edition (n.p.: 1947)
- D = David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden* (NY: 1964)
- DD = Rudolf Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the SS Kommandant at Auschwitz* (ed. Steven Paskuly), (NY: 1996)
- G = Gordon Musgrave, *Operation Gomorrah: The Hamburg Firestorm Raids* (London: 1981)
- H = Max Hastings, *Bomber Command* (NY: 1989)
- I = Kenneth V. Iserson, *Death to Dust: What Happens to Dead Bodies?* (Tucson, AZ: 1994)
- N = Georg Wolfgang Schramm, *Der zivile Luftschutz in Nürnberg, 1933-1945* (Nuremberg: 1983)
- P = Walter Steiner, *Die Parkhöhle von Weimar: Abwasserstollen, Luftschutzkeller, Untertaghymuseum* (Bremen: 1996)
- S = Joachim Stahl, *Bunker und Stollen für den Luftschutz im Raum Siegen* (Kreuztal: 1980)
- SF = Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse Five* (NY: 1993)
- U.S. = United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *The Effect of Bombing on Health and Medical Care in Germany* (Washington, DC: 1945)
- V = Johannes Steinhoff, et al., eds., *Voices from the Third Reich* (NY: 1994)
- Z = Ernst Gauss [Germar Rudolf], *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte* (Tübingen: 1994)

Notes

1. "Vergasungskeller" was first published on August 6, 1996; revised on November 7, 1996, in which form it was published by the Adelaide Institute in January, 1997; and revised again on January 7, 1997 and June 26, 1997. The article may be found on Dr. Butz' web site at: <http://pubweb.acns.nwu.edu/~abutz/di/dau/vk.html>
2. "Technique and Operation of German Anti-Gas Shelters: A Refutation of J. C. Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'" was first published on the CODOH website on March 23, 1997, revised April 7, 1997, further revisions April 30, 1997. It is located at <http://www.codoh.com/incon/inconpressac.html> An expanded version of "Technique and Operations," "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces,'" was published in the *Journal of Historical Review* 18, no. 4 (July-August 1989), pp. 7-30.
3. Pressac's magnum opus, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers*, is hard to find. His *The Crematoria of Auschwitz* (NY:1993) is more accessible. Beginning with an article in *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Bloomington, IN: 1994), Gutman, Berenbaum, and Gutman, eds., he has been assisted by Robert Jan van Pelt, who has also written, with Deborah Dwork, *Auschwitz: 1270 to Present* (NY:1996). The general thrust of all of these interpretations is consistent.
4. An excellent treatment of the evolution of British strategic bombing thinking may be found in Hastings, *Bomber Command*, esp. pp. 37-58; 106-122.
5. The Reichsluftschutzbund is usually rendered ARP or A.R.P. by British historians, apparently on the analogy with their own Air Raid Protective services. Its members would extend all the way down to the operation of each shelter: the SHD, on the other hand, worked from centralized locations.
6. On municipal disinfection centers in Germany, see "Die Umgestaltung und Vergrößerung der Desinfektionanstalt der Stadt Dortmund" in *Gesundheits-Ingenieur*, September 27, 1941, p. 523ff.
7. H. Friedlander and S. Milton, *Archives of the Holocaust*, vol. 20, document 169, p. 462ff, 463.
8. Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (NY: 1960), p. 584.
9. See the extensive discussion of the "Criminal Traces" in "Technique and Operation of German Anti-Gas Shelters."
10. Ibid.
11. Danuta Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945* (NY:1997), p. 692, 697n, p. 708. These entries fairly well explode the claim that Auschwitz was never bombed. My thanks to Richard Widmann for these references, and for other editorial suggestions.
12. Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz* (NY: 1993), p. 128.
13. It should be stressed that the arguments set forth here in 1997 have undergone significant elaboration. Part of this has been due to strong critiques from both Carlo Mattogno and Robert Jan van Pelt, and part is due to a number of documents obtained in 2000 and published in "Bomb Shelters in Birkenau"(www.codoh.com/incon/inconbsinbirk.html). The documents in that article prove that civil defense concerns, and thus gastight fixtures, were common at Auschwitz Birkenau, but, at the same time, there are ongoing disputes concerning the appropriateness of the Bomb Shelter Thesis in explaining such gastight fixtures for the crematoria.

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Churchill's War: Triumph in Adversity (Vol. II), by David Irving. London: Focal Point, 2001. Hardcover. 1060 pages. Photographs. Appendices. Source references. Index. (Available from the IHR for \$50, plus shipping.)

REVIEWED BY MARK WEBER

IT HAS BEEN FOURTEEN YEARS since the publication of the first volume of David Irving's three-part biography of Britain's legendary wartime leader. This second volume, subtitled "Triumph in Adversity," traces Winston Churchill's career from June 1941 through July 1943, the pivotal period when, after calamitous setbacks, the tide of the war turned decisively in favor of the Allies.

With this handsome, meticulously referenced and generously illustrated work (including many color photographs), Britain's best-known and most controversial historian once again displays his extraordinary knack for extracting information from overlooked diaries and suppressed records, and his gift for turning mountains of data into well-crafted prose. This measured, masterful examination of Britain's towering twentieth-century premier is Irving at his best.

It is difficult to avoid being impressed, even dazzled, by Churchill's colorful personality, in comparison with which most political leaders of the past fifty years seem pale midgets. From the pages of this book emerges a vivid portrait of an often exasperating and sometimes callous man of quick wit, myriad prejudices, puckish humor, arresting eloquence, and enormous energy.

As with Irving's other biographical works, this book's strength is also its weakness. While it is packed with day-to-day and even hour-to-hour detail, Irving sometimes, and perhaps unavoidably, neglects context and the larger picture. He sheds new light on Churchill's relations with major and minor figures of the fragile Allied wartime coalition, including, for example, his deep, abiding loathing of "Free French" leader Charles De Gaulle. Irving traces Churchill's wartime hypocrisy and treachery — most tragically toward the Poles, on whose behalf Britain had declared war against Germany in 1939. Excessive space is devoted to speculation about the July 1943 death of Wladyslaw

Sikorski, prime minister of Poland's London-based government in exile. Irving musters evidence to suggest that Sikorski's death in a freakish airplane crash at Gibraltar was not an accident, as officially announced, but instead may have been secretly arranged by British authorities, perhaps on Churchill's order.

As Irving notes, Churchill and other British officials received reports — from Jewish agencies, from intercepted and decrypted secret German dispatches, and from other sources — of killings of Jews in the lands under Axis rule.¹ And yet, in his own six-volume history of the great conflict, *The Second World War*, some 4,448 pages altogether, he made only passing references to wartime Germany's harshly anti-Jewish policies (what is now called "the Holocaust"), and no mention whatsoever of "gas chambers" or "gassing."²

Adding significantly to the work of such skeptical historians as John Charmley (notably in his 1993 work, *Churchill: The End of Glory*), Irving delivers here another powerful blow to Churchill's well-manicured image as the heroic figure who "saved" Britain and "Western civilization." Churchill, writes Irving in the introduction, "won the war in spite of himself... Britain, in short, surrendered her own empire to defeat a chimera conjured up by Winston Churchill, a putative danger from Nazi Germany — a threat which never existed except when Churchill needed to call upon it. He sacrificed the substance to defeat the myth."

During our own cynical era, when the reputations of once-towering figures are routinely debunked and discredited, Winston Churchill is still held in high regard. Churchill, says British-American writer Christopher Hitchens, has become a "totem" of the Establishment. "His titanic standing depends principally on a set of rotundly defiant speeches made in the years 1940 and 1941, when he staked everything on resistance to Hitler," writes Hitchens. "... For innumerable readers and reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic (Arthur Schlesinger prominent among them) the iconic status of Churchill is an indispensable 'fact' of life. If it can be shown that he was a vain old fool, then their world would turn upside down."³

In the view of the influential Jewish writer Charles Krauthammer — a *Washington Post* columnist (and fervent apologist for Israel) — Churchill is "the only possible" individual to be regarded as "Person of the Century." Krauthammer explains: "Take away Churchill in 1940 ... and Britain would have settled with Hitler —

in the great conflict: "I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby. If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons."¹⁹ In keeping with that aim, Churchill refused even to consider Hitler's repeated offers of peace, thereby condemning the people of Britain, and Europe, to years of horrific warfare.

In the early 1950s, historian Francis Neilson produced a stern portrait of the British leader, *The Churchill Legend*, which remains worth reading despite the passage of years:

Churchill had but one aim; only one desire. In *The Grand Alliance* he states, "I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby." It is his life that is to be satisfied. England? Europe? Are they merely the arenas that provide the accessories of the conflict? His life is to be "simplified" by throwing the world into chaos again. His purpose is the destruction of one man; and the last chance to maintain the culture of a thousand years must be abandoned because a politician's life is to be "simplified."²⁰

Alan Clark — historian and one-time British defense minister — more recently handed down a similarly harsh verdict of Churchill's war policy:

There were several occasions when a rational leader could have got, first reasonable, then excellent, terms from Germany ... The war went on far too long, and when Britain emerged the country was bust. Nothing remained of assets overseas. Without immense and punitive borrowings from the U.S. we would have starved. The old social order had gone forever. The empire was terminally damaged. The Commonwealth countries had seen their trust betrayed and their soldiers wasted ...²¹

"Victory at all cost" also meant accepting the Allied "United Nations" principles of egalitarianism and liberal democracy, which laid the groundwork for the dismantling of empire and for a massive influx of former imperial subjects, ushering in drastic changes in every area of life in Britain (and the rest of Europe) in recent decades.

In 1945, at the end of the terrible five-and-a-half-year conflict, Britain did not "win" — it merely emerged on the victorious side, together with the two great powers that really did "win" the war: Soviet Russia and the United States.

British writer Peter Millar echoed this assessment a

few years ago:

...The accepted view that his [Churchill's] "bulldog breed" stubbornness led Britain through its "finest hour" to a glorious victory is sadly superficial ... In no sense, other than the moral one, can Britain be said to have won. She merely survived. Britain went to war ostensibly to honour an alliance with Poland. Yet the war ended with Poland redesigned at a dictator's whim, albeit Stalin's rather than Hitler's, and occupied, albeit by Russians rather than Germans. In reality Britain went to war to maintain the balance of power. But the European continent in 1945 was dominated by a single overbearing power hostile to everything Britain stood for. Britain, hopelessly in hock to the United States, had neither the power nor the face to hold on to her empire.

... The "evil genius bent on world conquest" that most Americans believe Hitler to have been, is a myth. The evil genius had more precise aims in eastern Europe. A Britain that would have withdrawn from the fray and from all influence in Europe to concentrate on her far-flung empire would have suited him admirably.²²

It is to his credit that Churchill acknowledged, on at least one or two occasions, the tragedy of his own life's work. During a dinner with close associates in early 1945 — as his private secretary confided to his diary — a "rather depressed" Churchill was "saying that Chamberlain had trusted Hitler as he was now trusting Stalin (though he thought in different circumstances) ..."²³

Three years after the end of the war, Churchill wrote: "The human tragedy reaches its climax in the fact that after all the exertions and sacrifices of hundreds of millions of people and of victories of the Righteous Cause, we have still not found Peace or Security, and that we lie in the grip of even worse perils than those we have surmounted."²⁴ Later, reflecting wistfully on his legacy as wartime leader, Churchill mused: "Historians are apt to judge war ministers less by the victories achieved under their direction than by the political results which flowed from them. Judged by that standard, I am not sure that I shall be held to have done very well."²⁵

No man did more to bring about that "human tragedy" than Churchill himself, who had devoted so much energy and effort to crafting the wartime alliance that so greatly aided Stalin and the Soviet Union, the source of the "worse perils." And, as David Irving painstakingly lays out in this outstanding, unsparing work, no

man among the Allied wartime leaders better deserves to be judged by the results that flowed from his victories than Britain's legendary wartime premier.

Notes

1. David Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, pp. 546-548.
2. Robert Faurisson, "The Detail," *The Journal of Historical Review* (JHR) 18, no. 2 (March-April 1998), p. 19. Similarly, neither Dwight Eisenhower nor Charles De Gaulle made any mention of Nazi gas chambers in his memoir of the war.
3. Christopher Hitchens, "Whose History Is It?," *Vanity Fair*, December 1993, p. 110.
4. Charles Krauthammer, "Einstein Was Wrong Choice," *Washington Post* column, as it appeared in the *Press Democrat* (Santa Rosa, CA), January 2, 2000.
5. Quoted by Ralph Raico, "Rethinking Churchill," in John V. Denson, *The Costs of War: America's Pyrrhic Victories* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1997), p. 255. Source cited: H. Kissinger, "With Faint Praise," *New York Times Book Review*, July 16, 1995, p. 7.
6. For example, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt in August 1942: "I am strongly wedded to the Zionist policy, of which I am one of the authors." F. L. Loewenheim, Harold D. Langley, and Manfred Jonas, eds., *Roosevelt and Churchill: Their Secret Wartime Correspondence* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1975), p. 234.
7. Andrew Roberts, "Winston Replied That He Didn't Like Blackamoors," *The Spectator*, April 9, 1994, p. 11.
8. David Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. I (Bullsbrook, Western Australia: Veritas, 1987), p. 437.
9. Francis Neilson, *The Churchill Legend* (Appleton, WI: C.C. Nelson, 1954), p. 432; quoted in part in Irving, vol. II, p. 624.
10. Roberts, "Winston Replied...," pp. 10-11; Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, p. 624.
11. Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, p. 789.
12. Irving, *Churchill's War*, vol. II, pp. 560-563.
13. See Mark Weber, "After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial New Dangers and Challenges," JHR 19, no. 2 (March-April 2000), pp. 2, 6.
14. Weber, "After the Irving-Lipstadt Trial," p. 6.
15. Winston Churchill, *Great Contemporaries* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937), p. 232. Quoted in Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, pp. 374-375.
16. Churchill, *Step by Step* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1939), pp. 143-144. Quoted in Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, pp. 373-374, 444.
17. Examples or citations can be found in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Road to Victory*, vol. VII (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), pp. 1031, 1035, 1066, 1173-1174, 1186, 1194, 1229, 1320. During the Feb. 1945 Yalta conference, for example, Churchill declared: "It is no exaggeration or compliment of a florid kind when I say that we regard Marshal Stalin's life as most precious to the hopes and hearts of all of us ... I walk through this world with greater courage and hope when I find myself in a relation of friendship and intimacy with this great man, whose fame has gone out not only over all Russia but the world." (p. 1194).
18. In 1943 in Iran, at the conclusion of the Tehran conference, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill, issued a joint statement that concluded: "We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose." Declaration of December 1, 1943. Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *A Basic History of the United States* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1944), p. 530.
19. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, vol. 1-2 (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), p. 259n.
20. Churchill, *The Grand Alliance* p. 370. Quoted in Francis Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, pp. 411, 444.
21. Neilson, *The Churchill Legend*, p. 444.
22. Alan Clark, "A Reputation Ripe for Revision," *Times* (London), January 2, 1993.
23. Peter Millar, "Millar's Europe: Question over Glory Days," *The European* (London), January 7-10, 1993.
24. Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Road to Victory*, p. 1232.
25. W. Churchill, *The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), pp. iv-v.
26. R. Boothy, *Recollections of a Rebel* (London: 1978), pp. 183-184. Quoted in Raico, "Rethinking Churchill," in Denson, *The Costs of War*, p. 291.

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Unanswered Challenge

Phil Eversoul, in a letter to the editor that appeared in vol. 20, no.2 of the *Journal*, citing my article "The Rudolf Case, Irving's Lost Libel Suit and the Future of Revisionism" (*JHR* 19, no. 5, pp. 26-61), asks "... why did Zaverdinos allow Irving's statements to go unchallenged?" The *Journal's* editor wrote in reply that "the ... focus of [my] article precluded [my] criticizing Irving's trial positions at every instance," and then mentioned that I did indeed challenge Irving on some issues. The fact is that from the very first paragraph, in which I express the view that Irving lost his case mainly on account of ignorance of the scientific work done by Germar Rudolf, and throughout the section and notes on the lost libel suit against Deborah Lipstadt, I made criticism of Irving's position an integral part of the essay. Thus I can only conclude that Eversoul did not actually read what I wrote. Sections such as the one he cites are there only to show that Irving through his concessions and twistings and turnings exposed himself at every turn as ignorant of revisionist arguments on a subject which anyway "bores him endlessly." I challenged Irving not only for his ignorance, but for his arrogance as well, namely his implicit assumption that if something does not emanate from Irving himself it cannot be worth very much. For example, he would not have been tripped up so easily on crematory capacities had he been familiar with Carlo Mattogno's work.

Apart from the revisionist sources cited by the editor, I cite from many more and I believe that I do challenge Irving at almost every instance of his trial positions, if not every single one.

Recently I repeated my views on Irving in a private letter that found its

way to him without my authorization. This prompted him to write: "You should remind Z[averdinos] that it was my head on the chopping block, not his. He has not fought a case in a British court of law. I have no respect for Monday morning quarterbacks."

Mentioning that I had been an admirer of his writing for twenty-five years, I replied that even a "Monday morning quarterback" could see that he was hopelessly unprepared for his trial and referred him to my article for details. Finally, I asked Irving how it was possible that he still got standing ovations seeing that so much of what he used to tell admiring audiences was retracted during the trial.

No reply has been received to this challenge.

C. Zaverdinos
Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

[Editor: Dr. Zaverdinos reports elsewhere that he recently received cordial replies from South Africa's Minister in the Presidency, Dr. E. G. Pahad, and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aziz Pahad, after sending each a copy of Roger Garaudy's *Founding Myths of Modern Israel*. He also notes that "the walkout of the U.S. hand in hand with Israel from the recent Durban conference has not gone unnoticed" in South Africa.]

Quest for Truth

My husband, a retired pathologist, is eighty and I am seventy-nine. My ancestry goes back, purely, all the way to the Vikings; he is Portuguese-English. Like a true Viking, I have roamed far and wide, visiting Norway (several times), the Faeroe Islands, Estonia, and also Sikkim, Isfahan (I visited the bazaar there in 1971), Shiraz (to see Persepolis),

Burma, Darjeeling, as well as better-known spots like Dinkelsbühl.

Wherever I went I looked for the truth. Here at home I can find it in the *Journal of Historical Review*. This is rather a roundabout way of saying "Thank you for being" but — from the bottom of my heart — I do. I only wish I could show my thanks in a practical way but as I am unable to do that I will continue to subscribe to your Journal, buy books now and then and assure you, you are in my thoughts and prayers.

L. P.
Jackson, CA

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"A nation can survive its fools, and even the ambitious. But it cannot survive treason from within. An enemy at the gates is less formidable, for he is known and he carries his banners openly. But the traitor moves among those within the gate freely, his sly whispers rustling through all the alleys, heard in the very halls of government itself. For the traitor appears no traitor; he speaks in the accents familiar to his victims, and he wears their face and their garments, and he appeals to the baseness that lies deep in the hearts of all men. He rots the soul of a nation; he works secretly and unknown in the night to undermine the pillars of a city; he infects the body politic so that it can no longer resist. A murderer is less to be feared."

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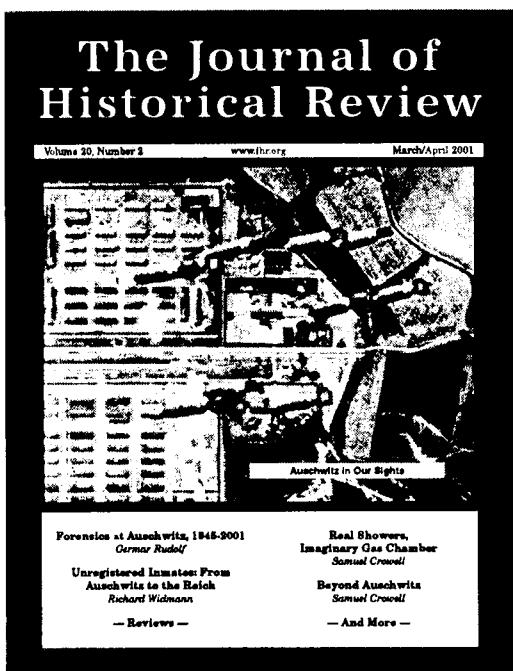
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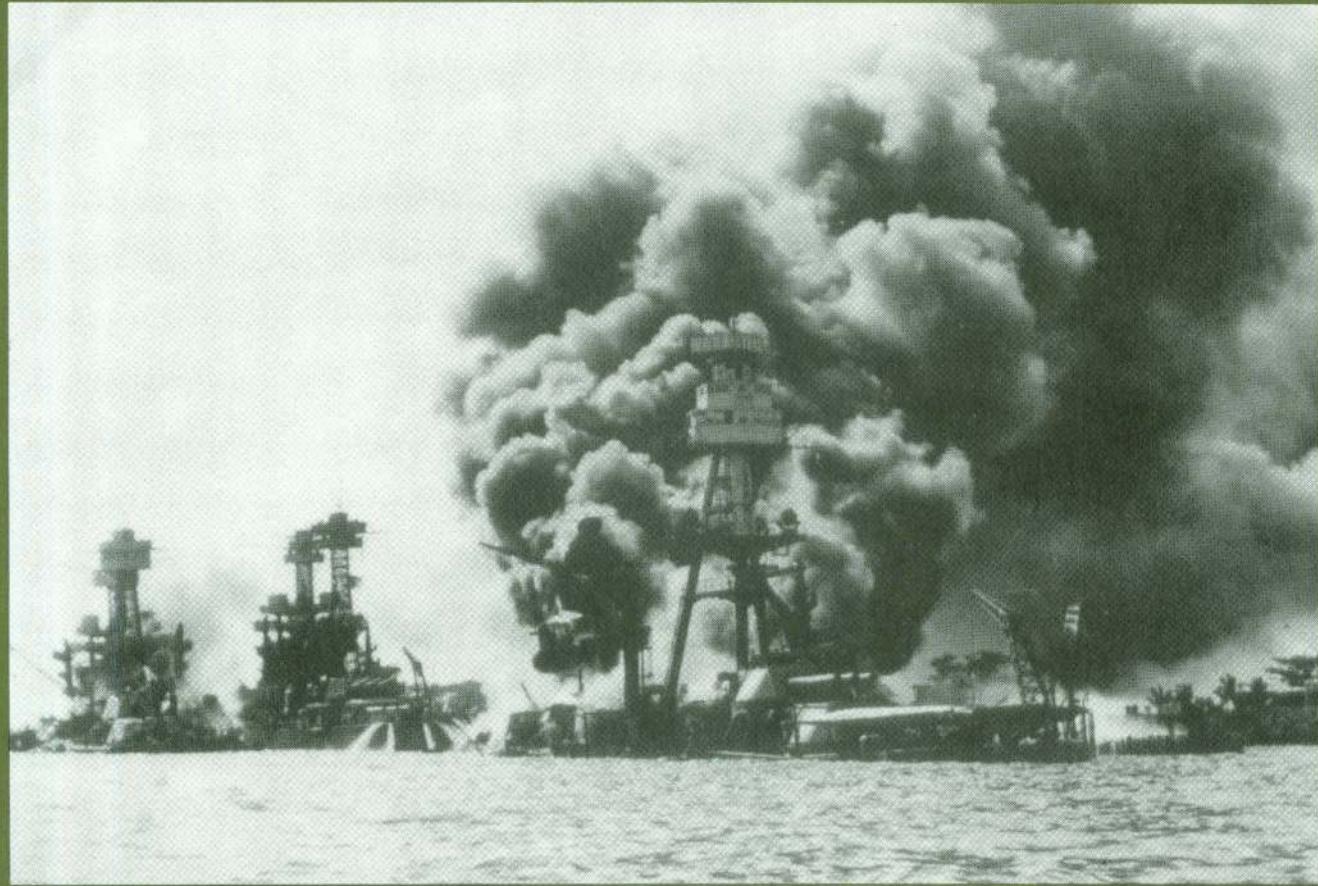
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Anti-Defamation League Machinations

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Höttl and the Elusive 'Six Million'

Mark Weber

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Brian Renk

Holocausts: Imaginary and Real

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Theodore J. O'Keefe

Four Books on Hitler-Stalin Clash

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— And More —

60th anniversary of “Operation Barbarossa”

Joachim Hoffmann

Stalin's War of Extermination 1941-1945

Planning, Realization and Documentation

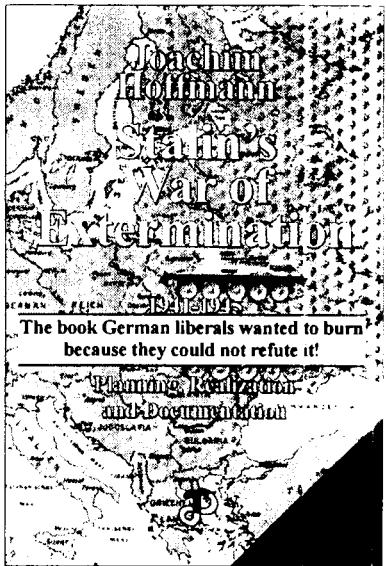
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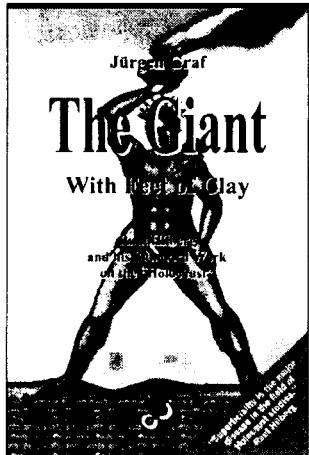
Prof. Richard C. Raack,
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The outbreak of war in 1939 gave Soviet dictator Stalin a long-awaited opportunity to begin putting into effect his plan for a war of conquest against Europe. This did not escape Hitler’s notice, who responded by planning a preventive strike against the Soviet colossus. In this thoroughly documented study, Dr. Hoffmann proves Stalin’s aggressive intentions, shows how Soviet propagandists incited Red Army troops to ferocious hatred against everything German, details the Red Army’s horrific treatment of German prisoners of war, and shows how the Soviets used unimaginable violence to force their unwilling troops into battle. Finally, this book documents the Red Army’s orgy of mass murder, looting, arson, rape and torture across central Europe, and especially in eastern Germany. As Hoffmann shows, Stalin’s war was, in truth, a war of extermination both against Germans and the peoples of the Soviet Union. It was not before 1948 that the US government realized that it fought against the wrong enemy in Europe during WWII. The author, for years a historian with a leading German government history institute, is one of the world’s foremost experts on the titanic German-Soviet conflict. This critically acclaimed book has been a big success in Germany, in spite of efforts by leftists to ban it and punish its author.



“A significant monograph from the indefatigable Jürgen Graf—and yet another contribution to the body of work at the center of holocaust revisionism. That he writes charmingly, too, is an additional dividend.”

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Editor, *The Barnes
Review*

“[A] perhaps shocking revelation of the shoddy evidence that the [Holocaust] legend is based on and [...] a specific important application of a good part of the revisionist scholarship of the past quarter century.”

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On the cover: American battleships at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, following the Japanese attack on the morning of December 7, 1941.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the revisionist tradition of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A. J. P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier, and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the Institute for Historical Review, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: \$40 per year, \$65 for two years, and \$90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add \$20 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add \$40 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in U.S. dollars drawerable on a U.S. bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

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FROM THE EDITOR

THIS EXPANDED ISSUE of the *Journal* coincides with the sixtieth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack. As it goes to press, the same questions about Pearl Harbor -- to what extent did U.S. policies invite the attack? how much did our government know in advance? -- still swirl around the ruins of the World Trade Center and the badly damaged Pentagon. Skepticism of the official version is hardly limited to these two "surprise attacks," however, for in Russia, in Germany, and even in America a growing number of historians is challenging the standard story that Hitler's June 1941 invasion of the USSR was unprovoked aggression. Each of these issues is dealt with incisively and informatively in this double issue of the JHR.

In the following pages Robert Faurisson argues that we Americans, after decades of support for Israeli oppression of the Palestinians and years of waging of push-button wars against Muslim countries, should certainly have been forewarned. He argues that the cult of the "Holocaust," with its message that the Jews are only victims and always victims, and thus all is allowed them, may propel the world into a real holocaust, where all will be victims. An expanded Revisionist News & Comment section looks with a jaundiced eye at the latest on 9/11, including the explosive, and scandalously underreported, news that scores of Israeli agents may have been spying on the alleged perpetrators of the World Trade and Pentagon massacres -- and that those Israelis who weren't spying on the terrorists were probably spying on us.

Russian specialist Dan Michaels, whose work has appeared frequently in these pages, assays the latest literature from Russia and Germany on the growing historical debate over Operation Barbarossa. Michaels examines the increasing evidence that Josef Stalin was aware of the German build-up, and was planning to strike first, and considers, if so, why the cunning Red despot was beaten to the punch. Then an editorial review looks at two recent books on Pearl Harbor, each of them claiming to solve the mystery of how much FDR and his government knew.

We are honored to publish the text of former Congressman Paul McCloskey's lecture to IHR's last conference. This highly decorated combat Marine and eminent American patriot placed defending his country's real interests, upholding its laws, and supporting justice at home and abroad ahead of his own political career. While McCloskey has made it clear that he is not a revi-

sionist on the essentials of the Holocaust, his lecture shows that revisionism has a wide spectrum, and a growing potential to engage men and women of outstanding character and achievement.

IHR director Mark Weber takes aim at the sacrosanct Six Million number, by way of an examination of the career of one of its chief authorities, ex-SS officer (and ex-CIA agent) Wilhelm Höttl. The result is a fine essay that reevaluates Hotel's credibility in light of new documents, and shows that the "Six Million" is not merely a sacred cow, but one that is industriously milked by the Holocaust industry.

Perhaps the most important article in this big issue focuses on the seemingly insignificant. Yet in his brilliant survey of the evidence for (and against) needed to have introduced the killing agent into the most notorious "gas chamber" of Auschwitz, Brian Renk, a long-time revisionist researcher with a professional knowledge of construction techniques, establishes that there are no holes, and there were no holes, in the "gas chamber" roof. His deconstruction of the evidence offered by the other side's leading experts, in last year's riveting Irving trial and elsewhere, aims a mortal blow at an Achilles heel of the Auschwitz myth.

That's far from all, of course. Our double year-end number features a review of Jürgen Graf's valuable take-down of Raul Hilberg's hypertrophied Holocaust history. Samuel Crowell surveys Paul Weindling's double-edged book on epidemics and genocide in eastern Europe between 1890 and 1945. There is much news, and more comment, with detailed reports on revisionist conferences here and abroad, an update from Robert Faurisson on persecution and France and Switzerland, notice of items of interest in the professional journals, and more.

As long-suffering subscribers will recognize, this double issue is meant to help us to catch up as well as to catch you up. You have our promise that we'll make up the "missing" pages, and be back on schedule at last, as quickly as possible during the next year.

— Theodore J. O'Keefe

Review and Revision

AFGHANISTAN: "To robbery, slaughter, plunder, they give the lying name of empire; they make a desert, and call it peace," wrote the Roman historian Tacitus, in a free version of a British terrorist's anti-Roman rant nearly two millennia ago. Afghanistan seems to have been mostly desert even before the past twenty years of war and anarchy, but whatever hadn't been desert is today, after official America morphed the angry zeal of the populace against the suspected masterminds of the 9/11 attacks into a general war to overthrow the Afghan government. President Bush and his advisors evidently believed that, like the unfortunate hamlet in Vietnam, Afghanistan had to be destroyed to save it. As ordnance rained down in unprecedented quantity and quality, considering the size of the targets, we Americans were able to chortle over colorful but sanitized graphics demonstrating the efficacy of this or that bomb or missile, in the warm comfort of their own living rooms, as the Afghans died in their thousands and fled in their millions. There were even instances of civilians being brained by cases of the dehydrated junk food that Uncle Sam is dropping as a salve to the consciences of our softer-hearted citizens (while the threat of mass starvation rises unabated). It is well that our leaders refer to this as a war, and not a "police action": as of this writing a tape of the elusive Osama bin Laden has been found, but not the world's most wanted criminal.

KUNDUZ: One didn't have to be a revisionist to wonder about the official story of a prison uprising by non-Afghan volunteers who had fought for the Taliban. Supposedly these foreign prisoners of war, evidently particularly hated by their Northern Alliance captors, had somehow secreted weapons on their persons, and then managed to smuggle them, while captive, into the fortress prison at Kunduz (one hopes that those of their warders who receive the bonus of immigration papers to America will find employment elsewhere than in airport security). Evidently the U.S. special forces and the civilian commissars from the Defense Department and the CIA who were supervising the NA on the spot had somehow been distracted. What happened next certainly had many of the earmarks of a massacre (as British foreign minister Jack Straw called it), with hundreds of the POWs slaughtered by machine gun fire and by air

strikes called in by a "hero" Green Beret (as if he and a handful of Montagnards had been beset by a Viet Cong battalion). We can't help wondering what the "international community" would have made of such a slaughter if it had happened at the hands of the Serbs in Kosovo, or been perpetrated by other certified bad guys. Meanwhile, the United States continues to pursue, try, and depart 80- and 90-year-old men whose only crime was to stand guard outside a forced labor camp in central Europe sixty years ago.

WASHINGTON: The debate in the councils of the U.S. government over the aims of the global war against terrorism seems to have taken shape as a contest between two wings of the Bush administration. Team America, headed by Secretary of State Colin Powell, is doing battle with Team Israel, led by an undersecretary (!) from the Defense Department, Paul Wolfowitz, for the heart and mind of President George W. Bush. Team Israel, needless to say, desires that America's armed forces begin doing Israel's immediate bidding against Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and whatever other targets the government in Jerusalem may designate. The opportunists who abound in any Washington administration, such as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who's added a steel edge to his tinhorn core in his manic impersonation of Robert McNamara, are poised to jump whichever way will advance their personal fortunes. While many say that after 9/11, everything has changed, it's good to see that some things haven't, such as the presence of Richard Perle as a top advisor in the unabashedly Zionist Wolfowitz camp. In the 1970s, Perle was investigated for passing intelligence to Israel while a congressional staffer with access to America defense secrets, dealing with defense matters in the 1970s. (Surprise! The case unaccountably petered out.). We hesitate to use the term "dual loyalist" for the Wolfowitzes and Perles ... at least until we discover which is the *second* country that they're loyal to.

CAPITOL HILL: Twenty-six years ago, three quarters of the U.S. Senate in effect pledged allegiance to Israel by publicly demanding that President Ford continue providing Israel with a free lunch (courtesy of American taxpayers) and a free hand in the Middle East, U.S. laws and American interests be damned. Recently eighty-nine spineless U.S. senators provided a new profile in cowardice. Apparently stung by lip service the Bush



Irv Rubin, leader of the Jewish Defense League, harangues a crowd. On December 11, 2001, Rubin was arrested along with JDL member Earl Krugel, and charged with plotting to blow up a Los Angeles mosque and the office of a US congressman. The JDL is a militant Zionist group with a long record of terrorist activities. In 1985 the FBI identified it as "the second most active terrorist group in the United States," linking it to 37 terrorist attacks carried out from 1977 to 1984. In 1987 the FBI announced that Jewish extremist groups had carried out 24 terrorist acts from 1981 through 1986, 17 of which were the work of the JDL.

The Institute for Historical Review was a target of systematic JDL violence and harassment during the 1980s. The attacks included a drive-by shooting, three fire-bombings, vandalism of IHR employee-owned vehicles, 22 slashings of tires of employee automobiles, demonstrations outside the IHR office, and numerous telephone threats. This campaign culminated in a devastating arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse in the early morning hours of July 4, 1984. Damage was estimated at \$400,000. No one was ever arrested in connection with this crime. In February 1989 JDL intimidation forced the cancellation at two hotel sites in southern California of a three-day IHR conference. The meeting was successfully held at a makeshift alternate site, in spite of further harassment by a handful of JDL thugs led by Rubin.

An IHR news release on the arrest of Rubin and Krugel is posted on the "News & Views" section of the IHR web site. "The Zionist Terror Network," an IHR report with detailed information about Rubin and the JDL, is posted on the site's "Books on-line" section.

administration had given to the proposition that the Palestinians deserve something like their own country, infested by Israeli colonies, police, and soldiers though it might be, on the 22 percent of pre-1948 Palestine that remains to them, the legislators, with the dog-like fidelity of a mutt bringing its master his slipper, reprimanded the president for being insufficiently attentive to Israel's interests. Soon enough, President Bush was cozying up to Prime Minister Sharon, posturing in front of the Mogen David, and insuring that our ambassador to the UN veto any resolution critical of Israel's racist, murderous policies against the Palestinians. Two images from this past autumn stick in our mind: the New York city firefighters, many of them heavily laden with equipment, toiling up the stairs of the burning World Trade Center towers, and the entire U.S. Senate, its vast entourage of staffers and camp followers hot on its heels, swarming pall-mall out of the Capitol at the first word that a letter containing anthrax had made its way to their post office.

JUSTICE: Against the ominous backdrop of the new P.A.T.R.I.O.T. law (with its disarmingly corny acronym and its threatening implications for our constitutional liberties), Jewish groups that have long enjoyed an entree with law enforcement groups were spreading fabrications aimed at revisionists and revisionist groups. Thus in October Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center told the world press that unnamed revisionists who had attended a conference in Beirut together with "Islamic militants" earlier in the year might well be behind the anthrax attacks. The rabbi's fib that the conference had taken place (it was banned under U.S. pressure), and his strong implication that IHR staffers and associates involved in conference preparations had been busily dispatching anthrax spores, wound up in prominent outlets such as the *Washington Post* (October 27) and the (London) *Observer* (October 28), sandwiched among less explicit accusations against the American "right wing" from U.S. government sources. Despite a Halloween flurry of similar reports featuring denunciations from Cooper, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and other professional anti-anti-Semites, the FBI recently announced that all such "leads" have proved worthless.

TREACHERY: News that at least sixty Israelis have been detained and investigated for espionage by the U.S. government since September 11 may account for the squid-like efforts of Cooper and other cuttlefish to jet

obfuscatory ink, while Israel-firsters inside and outside the American government work feverishly to control the damage. The story, broken by Fox News on December 12, reveals that as many as two hundred likely Israeli agents are strongly suspected of having spied on the terrorists who carried out the September 11 attacks, as well as on American military bases, the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Agent, and American officials throughout law enforcement and intelligence. The Fox report also revealed that American officials believe that the Israelis may have known of the attacks in advance, but failed to inform the U.S. In another choice revelation, Fox reported that six of the suspects worked for an Israeli-based company, Amdocs, which has had access to virtually any private telephone call made in the United States through its telephone "security" contracts with America's twenty-five biggest phone companies. (Is that why Bill Clinton tried to warn Monica a few years back — or had she already been "warned"?). This story was still unfolding as this issue went to press, but only on Fox News: five days after its first part was released, America's thousands of other news hounds, normally straining at the leash for any plausible scuttlebutt or scandal, were acting like the timid lapdogs they are when faced with *real* news.

TERROR: The arrest of Zionist goon Irv Rubin and his thuggish aide-de-camp, Earl Krugel, for allegedly plotting to assassinate U.S. congressman Darrell Issa and to blow up a mosque in Los Angeles, comes better late than never, or so we may hope. Rubin is reportedly still considered a suspect in the 1985 bombing murder of Palestinian poet Alex Odeh, just a few miles up the road from the IHR's offices. There was no mention in the news reports of the July 4, 1984, destruction of the Institute's offices and stocks, although Rubin visited the wreckage of the building and the heaps of ruined revisionist books to gloat publicly over the attack, as he later gloated over Odeh's death. Convicted for that murder, after years of delay (as the suspects lurked in Israel's occupied territories on the Jordan's West Bank, allegedly beyond Israeli reach): several former members of Rubin's Jewish Defense League who were probably trained, and certainly protected, by the State of Israel. Did someone say "terrorism"? Be sure it wasn't the Bush administration.

NEW YORK/JERUSALEM: Did six thousand really die? As inflated figures for WTC deaths were being revised, to coin a word, downward, New York's Mayor Rudy

Giuliani renewed a long mayoral tradition of snubbing Arabs (Robert Wagner refusing to meet with Saudi Arabian King Ibn Saud; Ed Koch snubbing Yasser Arafat; Giuliani snubbing Arafat) and snuggling with Israelis. Soon after the attacks, Giuliani turned down a ten million dollar contribution to the survivors and victims' families from a wealthy Saudi who had dared to name Israeli oppression of the Palestinians as a factor in the attacks. Then, not too long after having participated by telephone in a Jerusalem conference organized to expel the Palestinians from the West Bank and their refugee camps on the Gaza strip, the mayor doffed his Yankee cap for a yarmulke, to mourn the only Mideast victims who really count, together with war/peace criminal Sharon and various of his accomplices in Jerusalem. The Butcher of Beirut, now wanted by Belgium for his role in the Sabra and Shatila massacre (a recent BBC program reported that dozens of the massacre victims had been led off to be dealt with by the Israelis) and lately reprimanded by Amnesty International for his current policy of torturing prisoners, had earlier promised Giuliani that Israel would be planting five thousand scrawny trees in Jerusalem in memory of the dead. Sounds to us like a poor trade for ten million dollars of relief for those in need — and don't think the Israelis aren't waiting for the casualty figures to drop some more before they start planting.

THE HOLOCAUST: Rumors of the demise of the big H on September 11 turn out to have been greatly exaggerated. After all, James D. Bindenagel, America's official ambassador to the Holocaust (or was it from the Holocaust?) continues his work of arm-twisting and indoctrination in support of still more "reparations" and ever more Holocaust "education." If some readers imagine that the designation "Holocaust ambassador" is a tad overdrawn, the unembroidered truth is that Bindenagel, a career diplomat, was raised to ambassadorial status and designated "Special Envoy on Holocaust Issues" by President Clinton in 1999 (reportedly as a reward for his service in helping Stuart Eizenstat gouge Germany for \$5.2 more billion, this time in "reparations" to "slave laborers"). Bindenagel, reported a little-noticed story issued by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency back on July 10, "is proud to be the full-time point person," and hails "the emphasis the Bush administration has placed on Holocaust issues, as evidenced by his 'open-ended' mandate." He's still at it, of course, devoting what was once Americans' hard-won money to "promoting

national memorial days and programming in schools and helping develop teacher training programs" in ten different foreign countries, probably even as you're reading this ... The Holocaust is alive and well, too, in the universities. In a recent and typical incident, a flyer announcing a lecture on the "Search for Survivors: The Fate of the *Saint Louis*" was circulated in the mathematics department of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Given on October 1, it didn't coincide with any of known Holocaust holidays and didn't seem to speak to any particular concerns of mathematicians. If anything, the Holocausters would seem to need schooling in math (arithmetic might suffice) more than mathematicians need Holocaust "education." ... Like the *Flying Dutchman*, the *St. Louis*, the Hapag liner that carried Jews from Europe to Cuba — and back again — in 1939 seems to be popping up everywhere these days. The latest sighting was in a big-think essay by Stephen Steinlight, a Senior Fellow of the American Jewish Congress, that counsels American Jews to rethink their traditional support for unlimited immigration (except for revisionists and Nazi "war criminals"). It's rather evident that, its orotund arguments aside, the Steinlight article (titled "The Jewish Stake in America's Changing Demography," accessible at <http://www.cis.org/articles/2001/back1301.html>, the website of the Center for Immigration Studies) means to say that too many Muslims are coming to America now for Jewish comfort. The *St. Louis* makes its appearance in an elaborate bit of shtick (subtitled "Leaving Inviolate the Holy of Holies") wherein the writer takes pains not to seem to give comfort to the American immigration policy that prevailed from the 1920s to the 1960s. Here Steinlight decries America's "evil, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, and Red Menace-based Great Pause" — and he's only talking about the 1920s! As for American policy in the 1930s and 1940s (when in fact hundreds of thousands of Jews were admitted to the U.S.), Steinlight informs us with poker face that "... only handful were grudgingly granted safety here"; decries the nation's "vast moral failure"; bewails "appalling tales of grotesque treatment" (of prospective Jewish immigrants); and invokes the odyssey of the *St. Louis* (which, contrary to Steinlight's imaginings, never even attempted to land in the U.S.) as "perhaps the most poignant and most widely known instance of this monstrous policy." Aside from what Steinlight's article reveals about Jews' perceptions of Jewish influence over U.S. immigration policy, for all its nods to "civic virtue" it reveals an appalling self-cen-

teredness: as when Steinlight hazards that America's restrictive immigration laws were "arguably the greatest moral failure in its history," nosing out, one supposes, the execution of the Rosenbergs, the Pollard sentence, slavery, and the dispossession of the Indians (probably in that order).

'Real History' in Cincinnati

With a robust attendance and informative, stimulating addresses, David Irving's third annual "Real History" conference was a roaring success. About 150 persons, most of them from the eastern and central United States, and a few from as far away as Australia, met over Labor Day weekend — Friday, August 31, through Monday, September 3 — at a large, first-class hotel in a suburb of Cincinnati.

Irving, the conference organizer and host, was the central figure of the four-day event. The well-known British historian also delivered several talks himself and introduced and commented on the presentations of the other speakers.

In his opening night talk, "The Modern Plague: Historical Conformism," Irving expressed the hope that in coming years the term "conformist historian" will become a widely used epithet. On Sunday Irving spoke about Winston Churchill's secret wartime communications with President Roosevelt, exchanges that are dealt with in some detail in his *Churchill's War* trilogy.

In a Saturday lecture, "Hitler and the Final Solution: Are We Any Nearer to the Truth?" Irving cited copies of little known World War II documents that were also distributed to the attendees. Particularly noteworthy was a Dec. 1, 1941, order by Heinrich Himmler that, Irving said, apparently was issued following a stern rebuke by Hitler because of an unauthorized mass shooting of Jews the day before near Riga, Latvia, including several hundred Jews who had just arrived by train from Germany.

Writing to SS General Jeckeln, the SS and Police Leader for the large *Ostland* region that encompassed the Baltic lands and Belarus, Himmler ordered: "The Jews resettled in the *Ostland* region are to be treated only in accord with the guidelines laid down by me or by the Reich Security Main Office. I will punish those who act on their own authority or in contravention [of the guidelines]."

Irving reported on his legal and financial struggles

in an off-camera talk given on Monday. Even when speaking about the courtroom defeats in his well-publicized libel lawsuit against Deborah Lipstadt and her British publisher, the historian struck a confident and upbeat tone. He also spoke eagerly about his forthcoming legal battle against Gitta Sereny, whom he is suing for libel.

As if to prove his vitality and endurance in spite of legal setbacks, freshly-printed copies of the long-awaited second volume of Irving's *Churchill's War* trilogy were available for sale.

Weber's Address

The first guest speaker to address the conference was IHR director Mark Weber. In his Friday evening lecture, he expressed particular appreciation for the opportunity to address, for the first time, a meeting hosted by Irving, especially given that he has had the honor of introducing Irving at a number of IHR meetings over the years. He also recalled his first meeting with Irving 22 years ago at the National Archives in Washington, DC.

Taking aim at the incessantly repeated Six Million figure of alleged wartime Jewish "Holocaust" victims, Weber pointed out that even before the end of the war, this figure was already a feature of Allied war propaganda. At the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal of 1945-46, Weber noted, the *only* basis for the familiar Six Million figure was the dubious November 1945 affidavit of Wilhelm Höttl, a one-time SS intelligence officer.

Weber went on to examine, and discredit, the flawed methodology and deficient evidence presented by Holocaust historians to support the Six Million figure, and he cited evidence to support reasonable estimates of between one and two million Jewish wartime deaths.

One attendee was so impressed with the address that he donated \$1,000 to the IHR.

Other conference speakers included:

- Tony Martin, professor of African-American studies at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, spoke about the Jewish role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. He related how he came under tremendous fire for dealing with this emotion-laden subject in his classroom courses. It was the Jewish Talmud, Martin argued, that first provided (allegedly) divine authority for the contention that the slave status of blacks was ordained by God.
- Phillip Supina, professor of history at Shippensburg

University of Pennsylvania, reviewed Third Reich Germany's progressive policies in the fields of environmental protection, forestry management, humane treatment of animals, and public health. These measures, he related, were the most comprehensive and advanced in the world at the time.

- Joseph Sobran, well-known conservative columnist and author, spoke on "Lincoln, the Democrat Monarch." His after-dinner talk, sparkling with insights and observations collected in researching a forthcoming book, was delivered during a river boat cruise.
- Michael A. Hoffman II, independent revisionist writer, showed an impressive knowledge of Jewish religious doctrine and history in his address, in which he detailed the hatred by Deborah Lipstadt and others like her for those whom they regard as enemies of the Jewish people. Lipstadt and other Jewish activists, he noted, have repeatedly compared Irving and other non-conformist historians to "Amalek," the Old Testament-derived personification of the eternal enemy of the Jews. (Hoffman's own report on the Irving conference is posted on his web site: www.hoffman-info.com)
- Douglas Christie, Canadian attorney and prominent civil liberties activist, gave a passionate address in defense of freedom of speech. In his after-dinner address, he reviewed a number of important free speech battles in which he had been involved, including the headline-making cases of Doug Collins and Ernst Zündel. Following Christie's talk, attendees were treated to a spectacular riverside Labor Day fireworks display.
- Peter Kirstein, professor of history at St. Xavier University (Chicago), provided an informative and eloquently delivered talk on the background and meaning of the August 1945 US atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- *Triumph of the Will*, the well-known film documentary of the 1934 National Socialist party congress in Nuremberg, was shown on Saturday afternoon. This path-breaking film work was made by the legendary Leni Riefenstahl, whose 99th birthday was on August 22.

Provan-Renk Debate

Two independent researchers, Charles Provan of Pennsylvania and Brian Renk of British Columbia, squared off on Sunday for a lively debate about wartime

mass killings in gas chambers in the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp.

Much of the debate focused on some apparent holes in the ruins of the collapsed roof of morgue cellar (*Leichenkeller*) 1 at Birkenau crematorium (*Krema*) II. Both Provan and Renk presented enlarged transparency photos of these crude holes, with steel reinforcement bars (rebars) sticking out. Provan argued that these holes are the remains of carefully and deliberately made openings for pouring in Zyklon B to kill trapped Jews inside, while Renk expressed the view that these are merely coincidental holes that resulted from the explosive blowing up of the structure in 1945.

To most attendees these jagged openings did not appear to have been carefully or conscientiously constructed. For example, none of the holes seemed to have a straight edge or smooth finish, which one would expect if they had been designed and built as an openings for pouring in Zyklon.

Provan readily acknowledged that many claims about Auschwitz are empty propaganda. He even expressed the view that the holes shown on enlargements of 1944 Allied aerial reconnaissance photographs of morgue cellar (LK) 1 at *Krema* II were drawn in, which suggests tampering with photographic evidence.

Provan and Renk also discussed the wartime investigations, and the postwar testimonies, of Konrad Morgen, an SS investigator whose bureau carried out hundreds of judicial inquiries into murder and other abuses in the wartime camps. Morgen and his SS colleagues brought some 400 fellow officers to trial, of whom 200 were punished. Five SS camp commandants were arrested, and two were put to death for their crimes.

With Irving's permission, Weber briefly contributed to the debate. He noted that, as even anti-revisionist researcher Jean-Claude Pressac has acknowledged, the Birkenau crematory structures were woefully, even laughably, unsuitable and inappropriate as facilities for mass killings. *Kremas* II and III, Weber continued, were constructed in late 1942 and early 1943, and completed between March and late June 1943 — that is, months after a decision had supposedly been made to kill hundreds of thousands of Jews in these facilities.

The official story these days, he went on, is that these *Kremas* were built as ordinary crematory facilities with morgues, but were later modified or adapted to serve as mass killing facilities. As Pressac has further acknowledged, not only *Kremas* II and III, but also

Kremas IV and V, which were built even later, were not designed or built as mass killing facilities, and were at best only very awkwardly suited for this purpose.

Weber also spoke about Konrad Morgen, about whom he had testified at some length in the second, 1988 Zündel trial in Toronto. Weber related his feeling of awe upon reading for the first time, at the National Archives in Washington, the original indictment brief drawn up by Morgen against Buchenwald commandant Karl Koch, who was executed by the SS for murder and corruption. Weber stressed that Himmler sanctioned Morgen's investigation and prosecution of camp commandants, even for murder of inmates. This included Morgen's investigation of Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. Weber stressed the difficulty of reconciling Morgen's work with a German extermination program.

A set of ten video cassette recordings of the conference addresses are available for sale for \$130, including shipping, through Irving's "Focal Point" web site: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/online/index.html> Also on this site is additional information about the meeting, including a few color photographs.

Trieste Meeting: 'Revisionism and Dignity'

In Europe, revisionists met in Trieste under the auspices of the Nuovo Ordine Nazionale last October 6-7. Civilized Italy has lagged behind northern Europe in making it a crime to doubt the prescribed (and imposed) history, and speakers from four different continents were on hand to question and discuss questions ranging from Mussolini's unsuccessful diplomacy for peace in 1939 to the background of the 9/11 attacks and their implications for policy, and above all the attempts to involve the West in a world struggle against the Muslim nations. Theme of the conference: "Revisionism and Dignity of the Defeated Countries."

Two French educators, each of whom has lost his job for questioning shibboleths of the Second World War and the Holocaust, told how their confrontation with the Holocult cost them their careers. Former high-school teacher Jean-Louis Berger related how telling his students that dead inmates from Nordhausen shown in a well-known photograph had not been exterminated by Germans but rather killed in an Allied bombing raid. This, and other demonstrable facts revealed to his class, sufficed to get Berger convicted as well as drummed out

of the national teaching corps. The fact that Berger had run for office as a candidate of the National Front, whose leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, several years ago received a huge fine for stating that the gas chambers were a “detail” of the history of the Second World War, only heightened the media hysteria.

Vincent Reynouard was hunted from his position at a technical school, and banned from the state educational system, for his extracurricular act ivies in historical research and writing. He reminded attendees of some realities of Weimar and interwar Austria, including the propensity of governments before Hitler’s to suspend constitutional guarantees in emergencies, and the demand for union with Germany in Austria’s post-Saint Germain constitution. Reynouard also discussed the Duce’s efforts to mediate peace between France, England, and Germany in October 1939, which the Allies rebuffed.

Ahmed Rami, who spoke at IHR’s eleventh conference in 1992, noted that, thanks to “the gigantic bluff of the Holocaust,” Jews have more rights in Western nations than do their ancestral peoples. The former Moroccan officer, in exile for many years after trying to overthrow his country’s corrupt and despotic monarch, called for Muslims to return from their diaspora throughout the Christian world to “liberate, develop, and democratize” their homelands. Rami further urged rejection of efforts by Israel and its outriders abroad to promote a clash of civilizations between Muslims and Christians.

Two more hard cases of Holocaust denial, Jürgen Graf and Fred Töben, each of whom has addressed an IHR conference, discussed the search for historical truth about the Holocaust and its consequences. Graf put the case for a figure of 300,000, not Six Million, Jewish victims, and reviewed Holocaust atrocity accusations, forgotten and remembered, in the light of similar propaganda charges of the twentieth century. Graf is currently seeking refuge from his native Switzerland, where he has been sentenced for historical heresy. Dr. Töben, convicted in German court for his Internet postings from Australia, tied the falsehoods of the Holocaust to current manipulations of the truth. He reminded of one fact seemingly destined for the memory hole: that Osama bin Laden “is a creation of Washington, of the CIA” (no wonder he’ll never stand trial in open court!).

Two Americans well known to IHR supporters rounded out the conference. Dr. Robert Countess, advi-

sor to this journal, gave the talk he had planned for the Beirut conference. The retired professor asked pointedly why Israel’s crimes against Palestine weren’t being judged by Nuremberg standards, and exhorted the Muslim world to embrace revisionism. Proud Sicilian-American Russ Granata, lecturing at the Boot’s other end, speculated on what the Israeli and American secret services knew about the 9/11 attacks in advance.

As if the presence of dangerous “deniers,” Muslim extremists, and a potential anthrax-spreading doctor of divinity weren’t enough, the gathering was under the auspices of a (quite legal) “fascist” group. Evidently some revisionists avoided the conference out of philosophical distaste for its organizers, or from a general aversion to political associations, or other prudent considerations. Italian Fascism remains the most innocuous of the major authoritarian movements of its era, and in any case the participation of successor parties to Mussolini’s in postwar Italian governments without noticeable calamity seems to be diminishing the power of the “fascist” stigma.

In Other Journals

The July-September 2001 issue of the French journal *Vingtième Siècle* includes a useful, if gingerly, refutation of a canard that has resurfaced long after it was hatched at Nuremberg: the claim that Himmler had stated that he planned to starve thirty million Slavs in connection with the Russian campaign. This accusation, part of the testimony of prosecution witness (and former SS general) Erich von dem Bach Zelewski, had been long forgotten, but has been recently revived by several German historians (surprising no one), including Christian Gerlach, Suzanne Heim, and Götz Aly. Jean Stengers, professor of history at the University of Brussels, easily shows that there is not even a whisper of truth to the claim. His treatment of comments by Rosenberg and Göring that have been adduced to bolster the spurious Himmler remarks shows that their words fall well short of expressing such a plan. Stengers, doubtless wary of Europe’s Holocaust police, is extravagantly polite to Gerlach and company and takes many pains to underscore his allegiance to the alleged Jewish genocide. (*Vingtième Siècle* is published by Presses de Sciences PO, 44 rue du Four, 75006 Paris, France.)

John E. Moser, visiting assistant professor at the University of Georgia, offers a rare even-handed look at

"The 1941 Senate Investigation of Hollywood" in the summer 2001 issue of *The Historian* (vol. 63, no. 4). Moser shows that the anti-interventionist senators, led by Burton K. Wheeler (D-Montana), who investigated an upsurge of anti-German propaganda films that began in 1940, were not motivated by crude anti-Semitism. In fact, examining the movie industry was well within the purview of Senator Wheeler's Interstate Commerce Committee, which had aggressively investigated other areas of big business in the 1920s and '30s, in line with the progressivism of Wheeler and his colleagues. Moser suggests that the committee, while it did not ignore the pervasive role of Jews in Hollywood, was not notably anti-Semitic. While the investigation, begun in September 1941, came to little, and America was moved stealthily and steadily into war, the records of its inquiry into anti-German and pro-British film-making doubtless merit study. (*The Historian* is published quarterly from 301 Morrill Hall, Michigan State University, Lansing, MI 48824-1036.)

The September 2001 issue of *The Historical Journal* contains an informative article on the vexed question of English and Irish fascism by John Newsinger of Bath Spa University College. Newsinger is at pains to stress the radical and anti-Jewish nature of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists in the 1930s, rejecting Mosley biographer Robert Skidelsky's more temperate evaluation in his 1981 *Oswald Mosley*). Considering whether Eoin O'Duffy's National Guard (or Blueshirts), were genuinely fascist, rather than authoritarian conservatives, he leans toward the former, which seems to strain the evidence. If fascists they were, Duffy and most of his followers surely inclined more to Francoism than the values of the Falange of José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Newsinger also takes a brief look at the role of the Blueshirts in the nationalist ranks during the Spanish Civil War, as well as a peek at the Irish Christian Front, which played a leading role prominent in Irish politics in the late 1930s, and in which Father Denis Fahey, author of *The Rulers of Russia*, was a leading activist. (*The Historical Journal* is published quarterly by Cambridge University.)

In the May 2001 issue of *Irish Historical Studies*, Andreas Roth examines the radio broadcasts that Irish poet and novelist (in English and Irish) Francis Stuart made from Berlin to his home country in 1942-44. Roth finds that Stuart, who lectured on Anglo-Irish literature at the University of Berlin while in Germany, advocated a united, neutral Ireland while attacking the tyranny of

finance, but rarely touched on the Jewish question, and was in general successful in resisting German pressure to put a sharper edge to his broadcasts. The effect of his broadcasts on the Irish is not known, but cannot have been powerful. Unlike his one-time countryman William Joyce, Stuart was not punished after the war: his citizenship was uncontestedly Irish, and his country had been neutral. Stuart is still alive and his writings continue to draw interest; several years ago he made something of a stir when an Irish television documentary quoted him as saying that "the Jew was the always the worm that got into the rose and sickened it." (*Irish Historical Studies*, Department of History, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland.)

Was Holocaust Survivor Viktor Frankl Gassed at Auschwitz?

A recent article has revealed that Viktor Frankl, the famous psychiatrist and emblematic Auschwitz survivor, greatly embroidered on his meager time at Auschwitz. This news casts a shadow over the veracity of Frankl's famous memoir, *Man's Search for Meaning*. Of even more interest, however, is a question that arises when considering the Auschwitz State Museum's records regarding Frankl's time at Birkenau: Was Viktor Frankl gassed at Auschwitz?

Few men who emerged from the camps can match the late Viktor Frankl for acclaim. A psychiatrist from Vienna who died in 1997, Frankl gained international renown for the theories of mental health he expounded through his psychiatric school, logotherapy. Inextricably bound up with Frankl's fame, teachings, and moral authority was his experience of the German concentration camps, above all Auschwitz, as described in *Man's Search for Meaning* (U.S., 1959) a worldwide bestseller that has been ranked as one of the ten most influential books of the twentieth century by the Library of Congress.

In his reminiscence, Frankl recounted his stay at Auschwitz as if it had lasted an eternity. Now comes Timothy Pytell, adjunct professor of history at the Cooper Union in New York City, to inform us that, based on his researches for an intellectual biography of Frankl, the celebrated survivor spent at most three days at Auschwitz, while in transit from Theresienstadt in Bohemia to a subcamp of Dachau in October 1944. As

Pytell observes, a reader of *Man's Search for Meaning* would "be stunned to discover that Frankl spent only a few days in Auschwitz." In the book, Frankl devotes some thirty pages to Auschwitz. Besides recording his experiences on arrival (shaving, showering, delousing, etc.), Frankl makes observations about the lot of inmates there that strongly imply that, at the very least, he spent months, not days, at the camp. ("We had to wear the same shirts for half a year, until they had lost all appearance of being shirts.") As Pytell writes of Frankl's depiction of his stay at Auschwitz: "But if truth be told, Frankl's rendition is contradictory and profoundly deceptive."

Pytell notes that Frankl was transferred from Theresienstadt on October 19, 1944, on a train that carried 1500 persons to Auschwitz, and that the prisoner's log of the Dachau sub-camp Kaufering III records Frankl's arrival on October 25, 1944. Indeed, Frankl himself told the American evangelist Robert Schuller, in an interview published in Schuller's magazine *Possibilities* (March-April 1991): "I was in Auschwitz only three or four days ... I was sent to a barrack and we were all transported to a camp in Bavaria." Thus the credibility of yet another star survivor has been tested and found wanting. Like the testimony of Miklos Nyiszli, Filip Müller, Rudolf Vrba, Mel Mermelstein, and a host of other eyewitness oracles, Viktor Frankl's Auschwitz stories are now an embarrassment to the Holocaust industry, rather than an indictment of the Germans.

There's more, however. While Pytell wasn't up to examining the implications of Frankl's stay at Auschwitz for the reliability of the camp's official history, records compiled by exterminationist researcher of Theresienstadt H. G. Adler and by the Auschwitz State Museum make clear that if Frankl arrived at Auschwitz on October 20, 1944, he must have left Theresienstadt on a train with 1,500 passengers, designated "Es." The English-language edition of the supposedly authoritative *Auschwitz Chronicle, 1939-45* (editor Danuta Czech, London: I.B.Tauris, 1990), based on material from the Auschwitz State Museum, reports of that train:

October 20

1,500 Jewish men, women, and children are sent in an RSHA transport from the ghetto in Theresienstadt. After the selection, 169 women are admitted to the transit camp and 173 men as prisoners to the camp. The men receive Nos. B-13307-B-13479. The remaining 1,158 people

are killed in the gas chamber of Crematorium III.

Now, while Viktor Frankl reports at length in his chatty memoir about his reception at Auschwitz (including the obligatory brush with Dr. Mengele), he says not a word about being registered, assigned a number, tattooed with that number, or transferred to the Auschwitz Stammlager, the permanent camp). Thus one can conclude that he was not admitted as a prisoner to the camp. And the *Chronicle's* entry speaks of no surviving, non-registered persons from that shipment. Ergo, according to the *Auschwitz Chronicle*, and the records on which it claims to be based, Viktor Frankl must have gassed nearly fifty-three years before his widely announced death in September 1997. Who was it, then, who was sent out of Auschwitz a few days later, and went on to write all those books?

As Robert Faurisson, Carlo Mattogno, Enrique Aynat Eknes, Jürgen Graf, and other revisionist researchers have made plain, there is a way out of this seeming quandary. The survival of Frankl, like the survival of sundry other persons counted dead by the record keepers at the Auschwitz State Museum — most notably French and Euro-politician Simone Veil — was due, not to some miraculous intervention, but to the sloppy and dishonest researches of the Auschwitz authorities. Despite recent revisions in the *Chronicle* that allow for the survival of some non-registered inmates, the widely consulted reference continues to consign, more or less automatically, arrivals not officially assigned to the Auschwitz camp to the gas chambers.

No doubt if the Auschwitz records were open to a thorough revisionist combing, we would learn of many more survivors who are counted, officially, as gassed. Needless to say, such life-affirming findings are entirely unwelcome to the Holocaust industrialists, whether at the Auschwitz State Museum, or the Red Cross's international tracing center at Arolsen, Germany, or at Yad Vashem in Israel. And — who knows? — stating that Viktor Frankl wasn't gassed might earn one a fine, or a prison sentence, in more than one "democracy."

Ignorance gives politicians a free hand to exploit the politics of envy. Our education system creates a growing surplus of that ignorance.

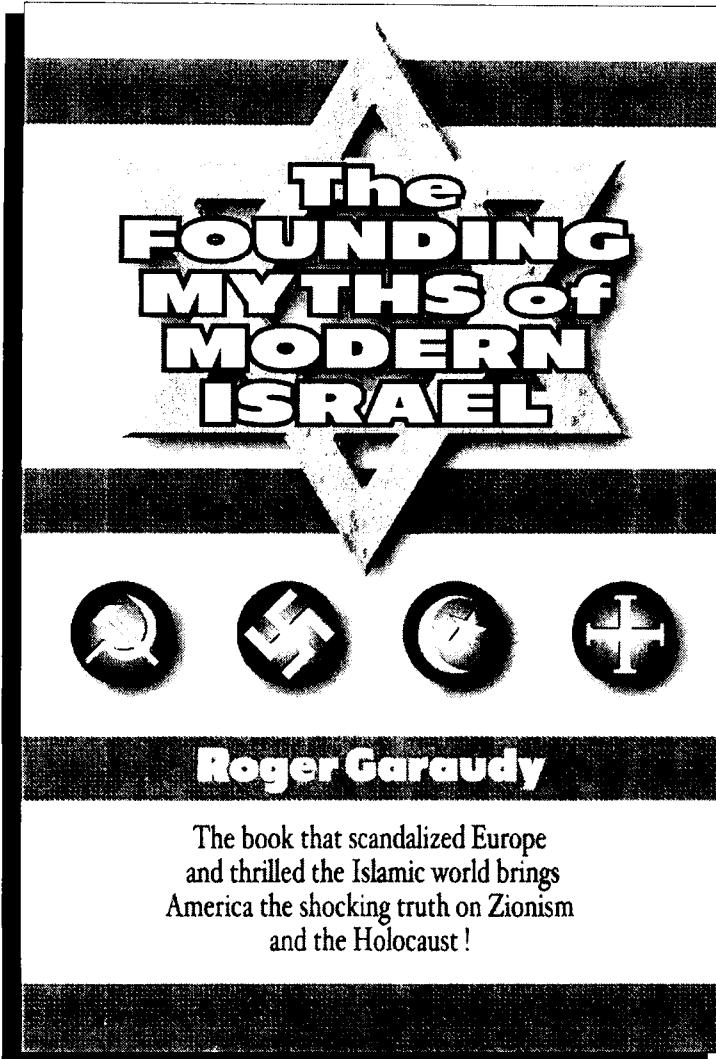
—Walter E. Williams

Unmasking Zionism's Most Dangerous Myths

In this headline-making work, a prominent French scholar delivers one powerful blow after another to the pernicious historical myths cited for decades to justify Zionist aggression and repression, including the Israeli legend of a "land without people for a people without land," and the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.

For financial gain, as an alibi for indefensible policies, and for other reasons, Jews have used what the author calls "theological myths" to arrogate for themselves a "right of theological divine chosenness." The wartime suffering of Europe's Jews, he contends, has been elevated to the status of a secular religion, and is now treated with sacrosanct historical uniqueness.

This readable, thoroughly documented study examines the brutal dispossession and mass expulsion of Palestine's Arabs, exposes the farce of the Nuremberg victors' show trial, and shows that the notorious German "final solution" term referred to a "territorial" program of resettlement, not extermination. *Founding Myths* details the secret collaboration of prominent Jews with the young Nazi regime, and the 1941 offer by some Zionists, including a future Israeli prime minister, to join Hitler's Germany in a military alliance against Britain. The author presents a frank assessment of the powerful Jewish-Zionist lobby in the United States, showing



how it effectively controls US policy regarding Israel, and plays a crucial role in shaping American public opinion.

For decades Roger Garaudy was prominent in the French Communist Party, making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism, eventually becoming a Muslim.

When *Founding Myths* first appeared in France, it touched off a storm of controversy among intellectuals and a furious uproar in the media. Soon Garaudy was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and fined him \$40,000. His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world.

Relying on a vast range of Zionist, Soviet, American and German source references, this well-documented study is packed with hundreds of eye-opening quotations, many by prominent Jewish scholars and personalities.

Here, at last, this important work is available in a handsome, professionally edited English-language edition, with a valuable foreword by Theodore J. O'Keefe.

The Founding Myths of Modern Israel by Roger Garaudy

Quality soft-cover. 230 pages. Source references. Index. (#0246) \$13.95, plus \$2 shipping.

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Machinations of the Anti-Defamation League

PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

YOU MIGHT WONDER why a man would leave northern California and come to southern California in the middle of a lovely weekend. I came because I respect the thesis of this organization — the thesis being that there should be a reexamination of whatever governments say or politicians say or political entities say. I was in politics for fifteen years, and I think you should start with the assumption: never trust a politician.

In 1964 I was on active duty in the Marine Corps over at Camp Pendleton, a few miles from here. I was then leading a Marine Corps Reserve officer class studying counter-insurgency. It was during that time that the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was enacted by Congress [August 7, 1964], and you may remember that the Secretary of State [Dean Rusk] and the Secretary of Defense [Robert McNamara] came before Congress and said that [North Vietnamese] torpedo boats had attacked two U.S. destroyers, the *Maddox* and the *Turner Joy*. The Congress voted nearly unanimously to authorize the President to go to war in Vietnam, one of the most tragic mistakes that we ever made. The two men I fought under in Korea, General MacArthur and General Ridgeway, both said: Never again fight a land war on the Asian continent; it is not a place for Americans. Nevertheless we went to war, and a great American, Senator William Fulbright, said it is the responsi-

bility of the politician to lead in the reexamination both of policy and in historical fact, which is exactly the thesis of this organization. Because if you're going to make policy decisions, you need to know what the facts are.

You may remember when Lyndon Johnson announced [March 31, 1968] that he would not run for a second term as president. For some years he had told everyone in the Congress that we were doing the right thing in Vietnam: that we had to bring the coonskin home because we couldn't afford to be, as President Nixon put it, a "pitiful, helpless giant." We had to win that war, he said, and for a long time he was convinced, based on his daily briefings, that we were winning the war.

One of my friends from Stanford law school, and my debate partner in the moot court debates there in 1950, was John Ehrlichman. Years later, when he went to prison in 1975, I asked John what had caused a fine, honest lawyer to become a corrupt servant to President Nixon and to lie to the Congress. And I asked him why Henry Kissinger had been making the foreign policy of the United States, rather than the Secretary of State, William Rogers, who by law was entrusted with that responsibility. And he told me: "Pete, it's this way. Every morning at seven o'clock Richard Nixon gets his briefing of events around the world. There were briefings

Paul N. "Pete" McCloskey, Jr., was born and raised in California. During Korean War service with the Marine Corps, he earned the Navy Cross, the Silver Star and two Purple Hearts. From 1967 to 1983 he served as a U.S. congressman. He was co-chairman of the First Earth Day, 1970. He was an early opponent of American involvement in the Vietnam War, and the first Republican in Congress to call for the impeachment of President Nixon. In 1972 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican party presidential nomination. For more about McCloskey's contentious relationship with the Jewish-Zionist lobby, see Paul Findley's book, *They Dare to Speak Out*. This essay is adapted from McCloskey's address at the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000.



Pete McCloskey addresses the 13th IHR Conference in Irvine, California, May 28, 2000.

from State, Defense, and the CIA, but we couldn't trust any of those three agencies because the warfare amongst them was greater than their desire to tell the truth to the President of the United States. Therefore, Kissinger became the censor of those three reports. He took and collated the State, Defense and CIA reports, so that the President got a single briefing from Henry Kissinger. Well, Kissinger's policies being what they were, you can imagine what that could do to the policy of the United States."

Free speech and civil courage

Earlier here today I listened to speeches about the courage of men in France, Britain, Germany, and New Zealand who have spoken out against the commonly accepted concept of what occurred during the Second World War in the so-called Holocaust. And I wanted to tell you a story that every American ought to know, because we do have free speech in this country, and a judicial system with the right to jury trial. Whatever you may think of the ability of given judges, or the ability of given members of the press, the independent judiciary and press have saved us from the kind of things that have been described here today in Germany or Britain or Canada.

I remember that one time, during a visit to New Zealand, a radio talk show host there commented that, based on statistics, four percent of the one hundred men in New Zealand's Parliament would be homosexual, which meant that four members of Parliament could be homosexual. Well, they hauled this talk show

host up in front of a parliamentary committee and threatened to lock him up and throw away the key for contempt of Parliament. He whined and whimpered, and said, "I didn't mean to say four members of the parliament are homosexual, but that's just the statistics, and if they are a representative sample of the population, four would be homosexual." With his apology and humbling, they let him go. Within six months, three members of the New Zealand Parliament admitted they were homosexual.

But it's different in America. How many of you know the story of John Peter Zenger? If you reexamine history, and go back to 1733-1735 in New York, the royal governor of this British colony was a man named William Cosby. And a very brave editor, John Peter Zenger — maybe the David McCalden or the Mark Weber of his time — came out and said in his paper that "Cosby is corrupt. He's taking money from the royal treasury. The government is corrupt, and the governor is corrupt." He was hauled up for trial [on a charge of seditious libel]. In keeping with English common law, he had a right to a jury trial, and the chief justice in the case instructed the jury, twelve men tried and true: "You must find John Peter Zenger guilty because he has criticized the government. It is important and essential to the preservation of government that people have a good opinion of it. Therefore, you must find him guilty." [Zenger's lawyer, Andrew Hamilton, argued that because what Zenger had written was true, he should be acquitted.] Well, the jury took about twenty minutes to acquit Zenger. As a result, when we later adopted our Bill of Rights [1791], we put into it two essential rights: the right of free speech and free press, and the right of trial by jury. And that has generally protected people in this country in expressing whatever dissenting views they cared to express — from everything except the scorn of their peers in the same field.

I may not agree with you about everything I've heard today, or what you might feel, but your right to say what you believe and to research things that are alleged as true, and to try to disprove them, is perhaps the most important part of our democracy.

That's what we're up against now with the Anti-Defamation League, and I think ultimately we're going to win. When you think about those rights — which they don't have in Canada or Britain or New Zealand or France or Germany, where people can go to jail for expressing unpopular thoughts — thank God we're Americans.

Reactive repression

Let me go back now to the ADL — after all, this speech is entitled “Machinations of the ADL” — and let me tell you a little about my experiences. I’m a fourth generation Californian. My father and both grandfathers were lawyers here in southern California. I grew up in a little town called San Marino, a classic all-white suburb. The last I heard there were 9,000 voters, 8,700 of them Republicans. There were no blacks in San Marino, and there were no Jews. They kept Jews out of San Marino by asking, “What’s the maiden name of your mother?” The real estate people had a conspiracy. As with blacks, Jews in your neighborhood were supposed to make property values drop.

My father was a member of a law firm called Horwitz & McCloskey, which was on Spring Street in downtown Los Angeles when that was the city’s legal center. I remember once when I was a boy, he said, “Son, we Irish need the Jews. We have half of the good traits of mankind and half of the bad ones, and the Jews are exactly the opposite. They’ve got the good traits where we’re weak, and they have the weak traits where we’re strong.” I’ve always remembered that.

Anyway, in 1960 I was the president of the Palo Alto Bar Association. The next year I was elected president of the California Conference of Barristers. (That’s all lawyers in the state under 36 years of age.) That year Proposition 13, which some of you may remember, came up for a vote in California. Very simply it read: “A person shall have the right to sell or rent his home to whomever he chooses.” Sounds good. What that means in practice, however, is that a person is free to discriminate against anybody that he doesn’t like because of race or some other reason. The state Bar convention had never taken a position on political initiatives, but that year we felt that because we were constitutional lawyers, and because this initiative was clearly unconstitutional, the Bar ought to speak out.

Three of us addressed the conference, arguing that the Bar Association should take a position on this matter of constitutional interest. We got a lawyer in his late seventies named Herman Selvin — a tax lawyer with a famous Jewish firm in Los Angeles called Loeb & Loeb — to make the concluding speech. At the end of his marvelous, very persuasive speech, he said, “We lawyers have shown we’ve got great minds, and we’ve got great hearts. Now let’s show we have some guts.” And the Bar Convention, 3,000 people, voted two-to-one to take a position against Proposition 13. But it proved useless, because the people of California voted two-to-



Roy Bullock worked for more than thirty years in San Francisco and Los Angeles as a spy for the Anti-Defamation League, collecting information for the Jewish-Zionist organization on individuals and groups deemed contrary to Jewish interests. The ADL paid Bullock covertly through a Jewish attorney in Beverly Hills. Bullock’s undercover work for the ADL was revealed in the January 1987 *IHR Newsletter*, but was not confirmed in major daily newspapers until late 1992 and early 1993.

one to pass Proposition 13, although later our Supreme Court held it to be unconstitutional.

Well, after he had given his speech at the convention, we took Herman Selvin out for a beer, and we complimented him, as young lawyers will an elderly sage. He told us that anti-Semitism was alive and well. A friend of his, he went on, had invited him to the posh Montecito Country Club in Santa Barbara, but when they got to the door, there was a man in a tuxedo who looked down a list and then said: “Selvin. We don’t take Jews here.” Now that was in 1963! In my own lifetime, this state has had a long record of anti-Semitism.

And what do people do when they’re discriminated against? They form networks. By June 1967, when the Six Day War occurred, the Jewish communities in America had built up a large network of mutual support in the synagogues and the Jewish community centers.

At that time there were thirty-three major Jewish organizations. One of them was the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which became the most militant voice for Israel. To be a good Jew meant that you had to support Israel. It was as if "Israel über Alles," or "Israel above all," became the watchword of the ADL.

Stifling debate

They built up an intelligence organization to learn about their enemies. There were people like Roy Bullock, who masqueraded as a kind of rotund antique dealer, at first in the East, and then in the Midwest, before he moved to Los Angeles and then to San Francisco. He would pass himself off as a sympathizer with whatever group the ADL deemed to be hostile to Israel. By the 1980s the ADL's main purpose was no longer to try to stop anti-Semitism and bigotry, but instead to discredit any voice that was hostile to the policies of Israel — and not only to discredit people who spoke out against Israel, but to deny them a forum.

Now, I've always been willing to debate. I once debated Meir Kahane in front of two thousand Jews in San Francisco. I've debated Irv Rubin of the Jewish Defense League. But no ADL leader will debate me on the subject of Israel. If a public television station, for example, wants to organize a debate on the Middle East, they'll first call the ADL to find someone to speak for the Jewish community. Then they'll call for someone on the other side — for example someone from the Council for the National Interest, a group I founded some years ago with [former Illinois Congressman] Paul Findley. But when they call the ADL back to ask, "Will you debate Congressman McCloskey or Senator Percy or Senator Adlai Stevenson?", the answer is always "No, no." If there is a skilled speaker on the other side, they refuse to debate. The ADL does not want the facts to come out. They want to suppress any facts that are critical of Israel. You must understand that that's their goal. Above all else, they want to preserve the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States; preserve a good public opinion of Israel on the part of the American people, so that the money keeps coming; defeat any political figure, such as Paul Findley or Chuck Percy or even Ed Zschau, who was defeated mainly by Jewish money in his bid for the Senate here in California.

The ADL's purpose is to discredit and to deny a forum to anybody who might jeopardize the Israel-U.S. relationship. So of course the IHR is a major bull's-eye target. Now, given the extensive intelligence organization they've built up, I am almost certain that someone

in this room is reporting to the ADL. Roy Bullock, for example, would go to the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and say "I'm in sympathy. Let me pass out your literature." But this was only a masquerade.

My wife was once working in San Francisco on behalf of something called Proposition W, which called for cutting aid to Israel by the amount of money they were putting into the settlements on the West Bank and Gaza. So of course she got listed; she became targeted because she was taking a view hostile to Israel. I got a call from a police captain, who said: "Mr. McCloskey, in the records of the San Francisco ADL is a note that when your wife crossed from Jordan into Israel in 1987, she was involved in an altercation at the Allenby Bridge." Well, I was with her at the time, along with Jim Abourezk, the Arab-American senator from South Dakota. We had visited Jordan, and my wife wanted to go across and see Jerusalem and Jericho. All in all there were five young women, in their 20s and early 30s, who were crossing the bridge. The Jewish border guard stopped them. My wife, with a name like McCloskey, or Smith or Jones: No problem. But one of the girls was named Aziz, that is, she had an Arab name. She had married a young Arab-American. All five were American citizens. The Israeli border guard turned to the one named Aziz and said, "Take off your clothes." It was a humiliating, demeaning experience. My wife was offended, and she spoke up about her feelings. But to find that turning up six years later in the office of the San Francisco Anti-Defamation League meant that information was going from Israel to the United States, as well as from the U.S. to Israel. Victor Ostrovsky, a former Israeli Mossad case worker, has written [in his book, *By Way of Deception*] about the cooperation of American Jews with the Israeli government.

The ADL would ingratiate itself with police departments so that they could get information about anti-Semitic or anti-Israel activity. Roy Bullock, the ADL spy, would come to a meeting like this one, and after sitting down, would go out to the parking lot and take down the license plate numbers of all the cars parked there. And then he would take the numbers to Tom Gerard at the San Francisco Police Department and ask: "Would you get me the names of these people?" And back would come the names and the addresses of the people who owned the cars parked at the meeting, along with a notation that these people are "anti-Israel" or "pro-Palestinian," or that they're Vietnam war "peaceniks." And that information would be passed on the ADL office in Los Angeles or New York or Washington.

ton, DC. Even Portland, Oregon, might get it. The 31 ADL offices, in major U.S. cities, as well as in Israel, were in constant communication with each other. The ADL compiled detailed dossiers, so that if one wanted to find out if such and such a person was anti-Israel, or had ever said anything that was anti-Israel, the ADL was able to quickly respond with a "No" or a "Yes," which would condemn you.

Marked man

Until 1980, when I first spoke out against Israel, I had been known as a relative friend of Israel. On issues like Vietnam or a woman's right of choice, things of that kind, I shared views with most Jews. But once I took a position that was deemed hostile to the state of Israel, including opposition to Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and its use of cluster bombs, I was a marked man.

Let me tell you what happened when, after 15 years in the House, I came back to California in 1982 to run for the U.S. Senate. Here's an example: My finance chairman in southern California was a savings and loan company executive. He was a very loyal man. He'd known my father, and he wanted to help me. He thought I'd make a good senator. In 1982, you may remember, there was a savings and loan crisis. Three of his biggest Jewish depositors came to him and said, "Mr. X, we see you're the chairman of McCloskey's finance committee. You get off that committee, or we will withdraw our deposits."

In the 1982 primary election race I lost the Republican party nomination for the U.S. Senate to Pete Wilson. He went up to the San Fernando Valley and made a promise to the Jewish leaders of that powerful Jewish area that if elected to the Senate he would favor Israel's annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. That story was reported, but then absolutely hushed up. You've never heard the story since. The Jewish community has the power to suppress, either by advertising or control of the media, news reports that are hostile to Israel, and they have the ability to discredit anyone who speaks out. And that's their purpose.

I'm going to give you a couple of examples of what they've done to friends or clients of mine to achieve their goal of protecting the good public image of Israel. In 1983 two young women, Carol Al Shahib and Audrey Shabbas, who were wives of Arab professors at San Jose State University and the University of California, had organized a small educational program to educate people about Arab culture and Muslim culture. They put on seminars and taught people about Middle East his-

tory. They quickly came under the eye of the ADL as threats to Israel because they had spoken about justice for Palestinians. When a Saudi Arabian art exhibit came to San Jose, they signed a contract with the San Jose Museum of Art to host the exhibit. This foundation was run by twenty-one of the community's leading citizens. The chairman happened to be Jewish. Carol and Audrey also scheduled two speakers, one of them a lady from Texas who had spoken on behalf of Palestinian rights.

One of the foundation's board members thought he recognized the name of the speaker, and he called the local ADL representative, William Brinner, a famous professor at the University of California (Berkeley). And Brinner said, "Those people are anti-Israel." The two women had invested about \$5,000 to put on this four-day exhibition, and had sent out letters to all the local school teachers. Called up in front of the board, they were told that the speakers were controversial, and that the exhibition would have to be cancelled. These two women would perhaps have made maybe \$15,000 from the seminar, probably paying half or two-thirds of that amount in expenses. So the ADL effectively ended their ability to earn a living by teaching people about the Arab world.

Liberty Denial

My second story begins during the Six Day War in June 1967. An American navy ship called the USS *Liberty* was sailing off the coast of Egypt and Gaza, well outside the three-mile limit. It was a radio antenna ship. You can call it a spy ship. It had a crew of 294 seamen and officers commanded by Captain William McGonagle. In the early morning of June 8, 1967, the ship was flying a big American flag. A fellow named Jim Ennes, who was a lieutenant and officer of the deck, had run up an American flag so big you could see it for miles. They were under surveillance by flights of Israeli jets, not once but twice. But in the early afternoon, Israeli jet fighters roared in and strafed and machine-gunned the ship, knocking out all of the antennas. Israel torpedo boats came out and launched a torpedo into the *Liberty*.

Nearly everyone on deck was killed or wounded. Out of a crew of 294, there were 34 killed and 171 wounded, the greatest number of casualties on a U.S. naval ship since Okinawa. The ship started to go down, and they put out life boats. Israeli torpedo boats directed machine-gun fire at the life boats. Obviously they intended that there be no survivors.

Captain McGonagle was able to save the *Liberty*,



The USS *Liberty* a few days after the devastating June 8, 1967, attack by Israeli war planes and torpedo boats during the Israeli-Arab "Six Day" war. Although it was flying a large American flag, the American Navy spy ship was repeatedly attacked by Zionist forces, killing 34 and wounding 171. The vessel was scarred by napalm, a torpedo explosion at the water line, 3,000 armor-piercing bullets, and 851 rockets. Israeli machine-gun fire destroyed the ship's life rafts. Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, later wrote: "I have never believed that the attack on the USS *Liberty* was a case of mistaken identity. That is ridiculous ... What is so chilling and cold-blooded, of course, is that they [the Israelis] could kill as many Americans as they did in confidence that Washington would cooperate in quelling any public outcry." In a recently published book about the US National Security Agency, *Body of Secrets*, James Bamford cites long-secret recordings of Hebrew-language communications by attacking Israeli planes and ships that discredit the lies that Israel and its defenders have used to conceal its crime against the United States.

which limped back to Malta. The dead were buried. McGonagle took care of the wounded. The Navy gave instructions that the crew was to be separated. No one crew member was to go to the same base, but instead the Navy spread them over ships and stations all around the United States. The *Liberty* crew was awarded a presidential unit citation, but they were never told about it. Captain McGonagle was later given the Congressional Medal of Honor for saving the ship, but he's the only Congressional Medal of Honor winner in history to be given it at the Washington Navy Yard and not at a ceremony at the White House.

Israel claimed that it had all been a terrible mistake, and that their pilots hadn't really seen the American flag. Well, since then individuals have come forward to say "I was in the headquarters on that day. I was a naval reserve officer. Yeah, they knew it was the USS *Liberty*. They had a big American flag on it. They bombed it, strafed it, deliberately."

The story was suppressed for years. Finally, Jim Ennes wrote a book about it, *Assault on the Liberty*, but copies of it began disappearing from libraries. Clearly, there was an effort afoot to silence Jim Ennes's story about the Israeli attack.

Enemies of the Library

There's a small town up in Wisconsin called Grafton, a town of about 10,000 people north of Milwaukee. Two old gentlemen who lived there, Ted and Ben Grob, ran a machine tool shop, which was the most successful business in Grafton. Back during the Depression, when people in Grafton were in trouble, the Grobs could be counted on to help out. They were good people. They were quiet people. They were German.

In 1993 the town's leading citizens decided to build a new library. They called in a professional consultant, who told them "You need two and half million dollars. Okay, first you've got to raise the initial quarter of a million. One-tenth of it. You should raise it from one person, who will start it off so that people have hope that they'll get the full two and half million. And so the first gift has got to be \$250,000, and then ideally you'll get five gifts of \$50,000, and then you go out publicly and put up a big thermometer on the town square. As you get closer and closer to your goal, the thermometer goes up and people get inspired, and finally you put it over the top." And the good people of Grafton asked, "Well, how do we get that first \$250,000?" And the pro says, "Well, it's simple. You agree to name the library after

whoever gives you the \$250,000."

So the Grob brothers gave the first \$250,000, and soon they raised the entire two and a half million. And shortly before the ground-breaking ceremony, the town's leading citizens went to the Grob brothers to ask them how they'd like the library named. Well, these two brothers had been reading the *Spotlight*, which had picked up the story of the USS *Liberty*. (The *Spotlight* used to pillory me regularly. Editorially it was no friend of mine.) And so the Grob brothers replied that they wanted to name it the "USS *Liberty* Memorial Library."

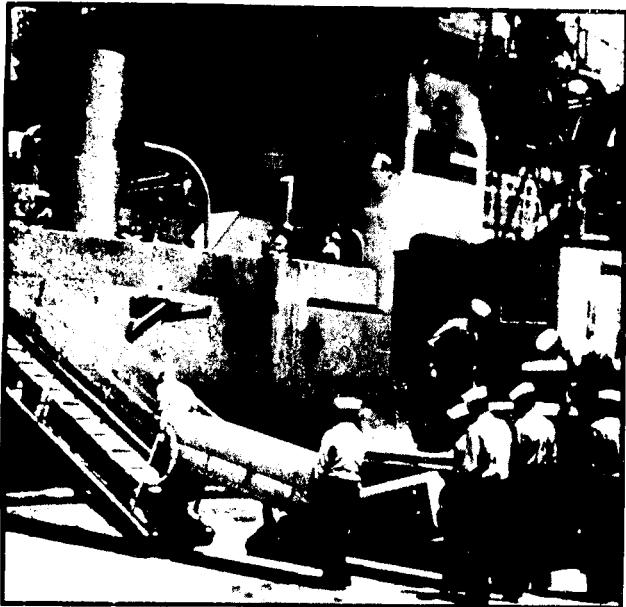
Well, all hell broke loose. The ADL went right up the wall. They got editorials in the *Milwaukee Journal* and the Chicago papers. By God, it was said, to name a library in memory of a U.S. ship that had been strafed and torpedoed by the Israelis would increase anti-Semitism. The ADL got about a third of the teachers at the Grafton high school to oppose naming the library after the USS *Liberty*. They got the high school valedictorian, a young 17-year-old, to speak in his graduating class address against naming the library after the USS *Liberty*. And all of this was sponsored and pushed by the ADL because of an incredible fear that merely raising the issue of the USS *Liberty* would increase public opinion against Israel. And that's what you're up against.

I don't know whether you're right or wrong about the Holocaust, but anytime a historian takes a position against Israel, that brings down their wrath and concentrated numbers and economic power.

Historical Correctness

Let me tell you another story about a friend of mine named Norman Davies, a man acknowledged around the world as a leading historian on Eastern Europe. He's one of the few historians who can write readable books. One of them is *Europe: A History*, which was a best-seller. You don't often find history books that are best-sellers. Well, I had just gotten out of Congress, and had returned to the practice of law in Palo Alto. (It was a country town when I had left, and now it's a kind of headquarters of Silicon Valley.)

I had been invited to be a guest professor at Stanford, to teach a course on political science. And I was hired in spite of a fierce campaign against me by the Jewish campus group, Hillel, and by the ADL. Well, Norman Davies was scheduled to be named to a prestigious chair at the history department. Stanford has a procedure whereby the department votes on whether or not to approve the appointment. To be appointed a profes-



Bodies of some of the 34 crew members of the *USS Liberty* who were killed in the 1967 Israeli attack are removed while the ship is docked in Malta.

sor at Stanford you have to be at the top of your field. Some twenty-five consultants, called outside referees, were asked about Davies, and all of them agreed that he was among the top one or two who might be considered for this professorship.

Some ten days before the matter came to a vote — it was in December 1983, I think — a history professor at Stanford who was also a member of the ADL contacted the ADL office in San Francisco, and the word then went out to all of the Jewish members of the faculty: “Have you read what Davies wrote about the Jews in Poland” [in his book *God’s Playground: A History of Poland*]? Well, you can’t write a book about Poland without dealing with the Jews, who were a large and important part of the population. In his book Davies had dared to suggest that not all Poles were anti-Semitic. And that ran counter to the view of history held by the Israelis and the Jewish community in the United States; that the Poles were anti-Semitic and they all discriminated against the Jews. Lucy Dawidowicz [Jewish historian] wrote that Davies was, in effect, a revisionist, and that his view of the history of Europe was detrimental to the Jewish community around the world. I’ve talked to a lot of Poles over the years, and I’ve known some who didn’t like Jews and I’ve found some that helped Jews. In occupied Poland during the Second World War the Poles who helped Jews were shot by the Nazis if they were caught.

In any event, what Davies wrote was deemed by the ADL to be hostile to Israel because of the simple suggestion that not all Poles were anti-Semitic. But we took them on in a lawsuit, which we lost on appeal. In that case we had a famous psychiatrist examine what Davies had written. Of 52 references he found 26 that one could infer were favorable to the Poles, and 26 critical, and 26 favorable to the Jews, and 26 critical. But that wasn’t enough for the ADL. They circulated a notice to the thirteen history professors who were Jewish, “Be there for the vote.” Now, not all of the thirty-eight history professors came to vote. And when the vote was held, it was thirteen to twelve to deny the chair to Norman Davies. The Jews were happy. The ADL was happy. They had denied a forum for a voice of reason, for a voice that spoke out for a different view of history.

The ADL once got caught up in a funny deal. My wife was holding a seminar on the Middle East at Mills College. Roy Bullock was there on behalf of the ADL to check on anyone who was speaking against Israel. And if anyone did speak in favor of the Palestinians or against Israel, the name and the license plate number went on his list. The information was passed around so that dossiers compiled on each person were sent to ADL offices across the United States, available only to the ADL.

Spying for South Africa

But if you’ll remember, back in the late 1980s, Israel had an ally, a fellow pariah in the international community named South Africa. And South Africa was not adhering to the United Nations’ resolution on Namibia, which they were supposed to give up. And Israel was similarly defying United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 [of 1967] and 338 [of 1973], which required that, along with an Israeli state, there also be a Palestinian state. But Israel didn’t want to give up the occupied territories. It was in violation of these resolutions. There’s pretty good evidence that Israeli nuclear weapons were tested by the South Africans.

Bullock and the ADL started looking at groups that were against apartheid in South Africa. Now, there were a lot of nice American ladies who thought it was time to end apartheid in South Africa, including many in the San Francisco Bay area and Los Angeles. Well, Bullock started going to their meetings. And suddenly the ADL was developing intelligence not only about people who were hostile to Israel, but people who were hostile to the Smuts-Botha apartheid government in South Africa. Soon South African intelligence people came out to see

Bullock and Gerard, and over lunch they said: "We'll pay you money if you can get us information about the people in the United States who are against apartheid in South Africa." So Bullock and Gerard collected, I think, \$16,000. They sent twenty-seven reports to the South African intelligence agency about Americans who opposed South Africa's apartheid government. The thinking was, if they're against South Africa, they must be against Israel, and if they're against the Jewish state, they're against Jews. Anyway, that's the new definition of anti-Semitism given by Nathan Perlmutter of the ADL [and by ADL officials Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein in their book, *The New Anti-Semitism*].

Well, at about that time, the FBI got word that South Africans were trying to pirate technology from Silicon Valley. After a while the FBI caught Bullock collecting information, put him under surveillance, and then they called him in and interrogated him. And Bullock said, "Yeah, absolutely, I'm helping the ADL. Of course. We've been looking at the anti-apartheid people." And so the FBI went to the San Francisco police, who were — well, they're like cops in a lot of places. They're not bright. They're Irish. Or Italian. So these Irish cops didn't know that the Jews were so powerful in San Francisco, and that they funded nearly every Democratic party candidate from the governorship down to the Congress. And that's how the San Francisco police learned that their officer Gerard was illegally obtaining information from the Department of Motor Vehicles, the Post Office, and from others, and funneling it — not only to the Israeli consulate or to Jewish organizations — but also selling it to South African intelligence.

And what did the Irish cops do next? They got search warrants to go into the ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Well, they ran into a funny thing. It turned out that, for some years, the Israelis or the ADL had been funding ten or twelve police officers. They'd given them two weeks in Israel, all expenses paid — take them over there, buy them drinks, and everything else that went with it, a two-week stay! A visit to a foreign country. Why? Because they wanted to ingratiate themselves with police departments to get information from them about people who were hostile to Israel. And in return the Jewish groups would tell the police the identity of anyone who desecrated a synagogue. This connection between the Israeli Mossad and the ADL and the police went up even to the level of the FBI. The head of the FBI would be invited to dinners, where he would urge everyone to cooperate with the ADL, saying "They're really a fine group, against bigotry and anti-Semitism."

So the ADL helped build up an organization that was able to destroy the careers of people, whether they were in politics or even somebody like Audrey Shabbas who was trying to educate schoolteachers, or Norman Davies, the history professor who was denied a prestigious chair, because of their expressed views on Israel and Jewish history. That kind of power does exist in this country. Luckily the pendulum swings back and forth. Now it swings one way to excess, as I believe, in favor of Israel and the Jewish community. But sooner or later it will swing back.

The important thing is never to accept what somebody *says* is history, whether it was ten years ago, or thirty or fifty years ago. Because those who first try to write that history are people who want to give a message that is consistent with their political views. And if you've suffered two thousand years of anti-Semitism, you can justify practically anything to preserve a Jewish state.

Cluster bombs on Lebanon

I'll close with a humorous incident I hope you'll enjoy. I was outraged when the Israelis invaded Lebanon. The 1954 Arms Control Act requires that if a country to which the U.S. gives arms uses those arms to invade a foreign country, we must by law cut off arms assistance to that country. When Turkey invaded Cyprus [in 1974] we cut off aid to Turkey, a NATO ally.

When the Israelis invaded Lebanon [June 1982], they used U.S.-supplied cluster bombs. It's a terrible, devastating weapon. It drops out of a plane to about a thousand feet. Then, a big napalm-type canister blows apart, and maybe two hundred bombs float out and scatter over twenty-five acres. They're timed to go off every five minutes. The first group goes off on contact, the next five minutes later, and so forth. And even after the planes are gone, these things are lying around on the ground. Troops know enough to stay away from, but little kids don't, and they pick them up and get their hands blown off.

After the 1973 war we gave Israel cluster bombs on the basis of an agreement, according to which they could use them only if they were invaded by the armies of more than one country. In other words, Israel could use these weapons only if it was invaded by two countries. Also, they could never use them in cities, or in partisan warfare, against irregular units. That is, they could never use them in civilian areas, and only against regular troops.

Well, a journalist named Nick Thimmesch, who



The King David Hotel in Jerusalem, in the aftermath of the Zionist terror bombing on July 22, 1946. The attack, carried out by the Irgun Zvai Leumi group, destroyed one wing of the sprawling structure, killing 91 persons and wounding 45. The large hotel was targeted because it served as an important military and civil headquarters for the British authorities who governed Palestine from 1918 until 1948. Britain's prime minister Clement Attlee called the attack an "insane act of terrorism" and "one of the most dastardly and cowardly crimes in recorded history." The attack was organized by Menachem Begin, who later became prime minister of Israel, as part of the Zionist campaign to bring Palestine under Jewish rule.

later [1985] died rather mysteriously, reported that Israel was using cluster bombs. He came to my office in Washington and gave me some cluster bomb fragments. And I said publicly that Israel is using cluster bombs. The Israeli government immediately denied it, but in this world somebody always leaks, and the State Department guys knew that Israel was using cluster bombs in violation of the treaty. And even though the Israeli lobby could make things difficult for the State Department guys, it couldn't get them out of their jobs. So State Department people kept telling me, "You're right, McCloskey. Keep saying it." So I made speeches about Israel's illegal use of cluster bombs. Finally the Israelis admitted that they had been lying, and that they had been using cluster bombs in Lebanon in violation of the treaty.

Well, there was enough concern in the Congress that six of us went over to the Middle East in 1982. In Syria we met with President Assad, and in Jordan we

met with King Hussein. And went to Lebanon where we met with Christian Maronites, with Shi'ites, and with the Druze. In Beirut we had to stay at the American embassy residence because they'd blown up the embassy itself. And we met with Yasser Arafat in his bunker in West Beirut. I remember meeting with Bashir Gemayel, the Maronite Christian leader who was elected president of the country and later killed. That was in July, when Israeli planes were bombing West Beirut. I asked him, "How can you run for president when West Beirut and one-sixth of your country is being attacked by the Israelis?" And he replied, "That's not my problem," because for the Maronite Christians, the Muslims and most of the country weren't really their problem. That was a few weeks before the Sabra and Shatilla massacres [Sept. 1982], when the Israelis unleashed the Christian militiamen into those Palestinian refugee camps to kill women and children.

Censorship, Israeli style

After we had met with those various Arab leaders, we went on to Israel and Egypt. In Jerusalem we were put up at the King David Hotel, the same hotel that Israel's prime minister, Menachem Begin, and his group, the Irgun, had blown up [July 22, 1946] when they were fighting the British for control of the country.

From an Israeli television studio I was interviewed by Tom Brokaw in New York for NBC national television. I'll never forget what happened. He asked what we had found, and about our talks with Assad, Hussein and Arafat. You know, you just get five-minute sound bites. I was asked what I thought of Begin. And I said that he's the same guy who, back in 1947, had hanged British soldiers. He was terrorist. Even most Jews thought of him as a terrorist. Some called him a Jewish Hitler, I believe. And I was asked what I thought of Ariel Sharon [who was then Israel's defense minister]. "Well, he's a butcher," I said. "He's a mean guy." I was asked about Yitzhak Shamir. I said something similar about him.

And then Brokaw asked me what I thought about Yasser Arafat. "Well," I said, "I think he's a man of peace." At that point, the Israeli military censor cut off the interview and the link to NBC in the United States. As I was walking out of the studio, I heard the guy who ran the show arguing with the military censor, a major general or brigadier general. The producer was saying, "You can't shut off an American speaking to an American audience!" and the general was saying, "We don't care what he says about *our* leaders. We probably agree with him. But nobody can say on Israeli television that Yasser Arafat is not a terrorist." And that, of course, was the ADL position at the time. You might remember that Paul Findley lost his seat in Congress because he had met with Arafat, and that Andrew Young was dropped as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations because he had met with PLO officials.

So, you've got this incredibly powerful organization. When you think how many people from the ADL have been appointed to the Clinton Administration, it's enough to make you a Republican. And it's true, incidentally, that the Democrats are far more beholden to the Israeli lobby than Republicans. Republicans tend to get their money from big business, and that's sometimes corrupt. But in this state, if you're a Democrat you can't get elected without the support of Jewish money. That power has, I think, reached its zenith.



Menachem Begin (1913-1992) was leader of the underground Zionist terror group Irgun Zvai Leumi from 1943 to 1948, and later headed Israel's government as prime minister, 1977-1983. Under his command, the Irgun carried out the July 1946 terror bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, the July 1947 murder of two abducted British soldiers, and the massacre on April 9, 1948, of some 250 Arabs, including 25 pregnant women and 52 children, in the village of Deir Yassin. As prime minister, Begin ordered the devastating 1982 invasion of Lebanon, which took the lives of some 20,000 people, most of them civilians. With unstinting United States military and economic backing, Begin's government also solidified Israel's brutal and illegal occupation of Palestine's West Bank and Gaza territories.

Dispassion and truth

I hope you'll keep examining history. I would caution you against one thing I've heard a bit of today. A historian should be dispassionate. I use that word deliberately. Do not let the conduct of your enemies cause you to become less than dispassionate in your historical views. I hate to hear the word "propaganda." I've heard it ever since I've been a young man, calling the enemy story "propaganda." It's unseemly, in my judgment, to say that one point of view is propaganda.

The great American Constitution was probably enacted because of an 82-year-old American named Ben Franklin. On the last day of the constitutional convention, after laboring four and a half months in a sealed room in Philadelphia, they came out with a con-



Smedley Butler (1881-1940), one of the most highly decorated U.S. Marines, retired in 1931 as a major general after 33 years of service. He later said that he had served as a "high class muscle man for [American] big business."

stitution. When people say you're too old to be in the Congress, you just remind them of Franklin's speech. He was 82 when he got up and said: "Gentleman, the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, even on matters that I was once certain of, because when I receive fuller information, or new arguments, I found that I was often wrong in the opinions that I originally formed."

A historian, ideally, should be like a juror in California. Every juror, before being sworn in, has to advise the court that he will wait to hear all the evidence on both sides of an issue before reaching a judgment of guilt or innocence, or liability or non-liability. That should also hold true in a special way for the historian, I think. Some of those who viciously oppose you may be tools of the Israeli state, but the historian's words ultimately receive the credit of the community. Think of the first persons who spoke out against the Vietnam war. Most people in my district thought I was a Communist. I got away with it because I had been a Marine in Korea, and they couldn't really say that a Marine was not patriotic. But if some college professors said they were against the war, I remember colleagues in the Congress calling them traitors.

The great source of inquiry ought to be the college campus. The minds of students should be formed by instructors who present both sides of issues. When I was a freshman at Stanford, the rednecks and right-wingers in southern California wanted to get rid of an economics professor there because he was a Communist.

A man who is still revered in the Marine Corps, Smedley Butler [1881-1940], fought for thirty years in every important campaign — Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti, Nicaragua. After he retired [in 1931], he was asked about his career. He said:

I spent 33 years and four months in active military service as a member of this country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from Second Lieutenant to Major General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers ... I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street ... I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

If you had suggested, at the time, that Marines were dying in Nicaragua or Haiti for the United Fruit Company or other big American corporations, public opinion about U.S. intervention in Latin America might have been the same as it was later about Vietnam.

When people finally learn the truth, they turn against those who have been lying to them. And I think that if the movement of which you people are the cutting edge can retain dispassion in the face of outrages, setbacks and humiliations, the truth can ultimately prevail.

You are doing something worse than criticizing the government of the United States; you're threatening the security of the state of Israel. And the Jewish community is dedicated to preserve that state, and to destroy those who speak against it. Good luck!

Wilhelm Höttl and the Elusive ‘Six Million’

MARK WEBER

SO INGRAINED HAS THE SIX MILLION FIGURE become in the popular consciousness that while the average American may be quite sure that six million Jews were slaughtered by the Germans in the Second World War — that is, in what is now called “the Holocaust” — he has no idea of how many British, Poles, Russians, or even Americans died during that global conflict, or, for that matter, of how many of his fellow countrymen lost their lives in the American Civil War.

This is hardly surprising, considering how relentlessly the Six Million figure is hammered into the public consciousness, not only in newspapers, magazines, motion pictures, and television, but also routinely in our schools, and even by a special taxpayer-funded U.S. federal government agency, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, which runs the imposing U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC.

The familiar *World Book Encyclopedia* tells readers, for example: “By the end of 1945, the Nazis had slaughtered more than 6 million Jewish men, women and children — over two-thirds of the Jews in Europe.”¹ German president Richard von Weizsäcker, in his much cited commemorative speech of May 8, 1985, spoke of “the six million Jews who were murdered in German concentration camps.” Anglo-Jewish historian Martin Gilbert, a prolific writer who is also the “official” biographer of Winston Churchill, has referred to “the systematic murder of six million Jews.”² The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* states flatly: “There can be no doubt as to the estimated figure of some six million victims.”³ An

information sheet issued by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council describes the grand Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, as a “living memorial to the six million Jews and millions of other victims of Nazi fanaticism who perished in the Holocaust.”

Just what is the basis for this familiar figure?

Even before the end of the Second World War in Europe, that is, before any careful or detailed investigation was possible, the Six Million figure was already in wide circulation. For example, in essays published in late 1944 and early 1945, the prominent Soviet-Jewish writer Ilya Ehrenburg repeatedly told his many readers that “the Germans” had killed six million Jews. In an article published in March 1945, for instance, in the English-language London weekly, *Soviet War News*, he wrote: “The world now knows that Germany has killed six million Jews.”⁴

Some weeks later, as David Irving has related, this figure was affirmed in New York by representatives of major Jewish organizations:⁵

In June 1945, just a few weeks after the end of the war in Europe, three Jewish lawyers who represented major Jewish organizations, met in New York with Robert Jackson, who would soon be serving as the chief U.S. prosecutor at the so-called “International Military Tribunal” in Nuremberg. Jackson asked how many Jews had lost their lives in all Nazi-occupied lands. The number, he was told, was six million.

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Wilhelm Höttl is pictured here some months after the end of the war, when he was working for U.S. intelligence. In a November 1945 affidavit he said that fellow SS officer Adolf Eichmann had told him in August 1944 that German authorities had killed six million Jews. Höttl's historic affidavit was the only specific evidence presented to the Nuremberg Tribunal for the familiar Six Million figure.

By remarkable coincidence, some twenty-five years earlier the American Jewish community had been warning of a "holocaust" of six million Jews in Europe. In an address published in 1919 in a leading Jewish American paper, the *American Hebrew* of New York City, under the headline "The Crucifixion of Jews Must Stop!", the former governor of New York state, Martin Glynn, spoke repeatedly of "six million" European Jews who were "dying" and "being whirled toward the grave" in a "threatened holocaust of human life."⁶

Given all this, it is hardly surprising that someone was found to provide "proof" for the Six Million figure at the most extravagant judicial undertaking in history, the 1945-46 trial in Nuremberg of Hermann Göring, Rudolf Hess, and other high-ranking Third Reich personalities. The legendary figure was fixed in history at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, where it was cited by chief British prosecutor Sir Hartley Shawcross in his closing address, and by the Allied judges in their final judgment.⁷

This figure was not the result of any careful investigation, research, or calculation. The only specific evidence presented for it to the Nuremberg Tribunal was the hearsay testimony of former SS officer Wilhelm

Höttl (sometimes spelled Hoettl), who said that he recalled it from a remark by Adolf Eichmann, the wartime head of the Jewish affairs section of Himmler's Reich Security Main Office (RSHA). Höttl, who also served with the RSHA during the war, stated in an affidavit dated November 26, 1945, and provided to the U.S. prosecution at Nuremberg, that Eichmann confided to him in August 1944 that some four million Jews had been killed in the "various extermination camps," and another two million had been killed in other ways, mostly in shootings by *Einsatzgruppen* forces in the course of the military campaign in Russia.⁸

Eichmann himself, it should be noted, later called the Höttl story "nonsense," vigorously denied ever having made the alleged remark, and speculated that Höttl may have picked up the figure from a radio or newspaper report.⁹

If it were not for Wilhelm Höttl's role in branding into the world's consciousness the trademark Six Million figure, his place in history would likely be little more than a footnote.

Who was this man, and how reliable is his historic affidavit?

He was born in Vienna in March 1915. In 1938, at the remarkably young age of twenty-three, he received a doctorate in history from the University of Vienna. While still a student there, he joined the National Socialist party and the SS. From 1939 until the end of the war in Europe, Höttl was employed almost without interruption by Germany's central intelligence agency, the RSHA. He was first stationed in Vienna with the "foreign bureau" (Amt Ausland, later Amt VI), and then, from early 1943, in Berlin in the "Southeastern Europe" branch E of Amt VI, with the SS rank of major (Sturmbannführer).

In March 1944 Höttl was assigned to Budapest, where he served as second in command to Himmler's SS representative in Hungary, and as political advisor to Hitler's ambassador there, Edmund Veesenmayer, who reported to Berlin, for example, on the large-scale deportations in 1944 of Jews from Hungary. On May 8, 1945, as German forces were unconditionally surrendering to the Allies, American troops arrested Höttl in Austria, and for several years after that he worked as an intelligence agent for the United States. He died in 1999, not long after the publication of his self-serving memoirs.

In April 2001 the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency made public thousands of pages of long-suppressed documents from its files of major German wartime figures, including the bulging Höttl file. Along with the

release of these documents, two U.S. government employees wrote and issued a detailed report about Höttl based on those recently declassified CIA files, which sheds revealing light on his wartime and postwar career. This report, entitled "Analysis of the Name File of Wilhelm Höttl," was written by two "historical researchers" of the U.S. government's "Interagency Working Group" (IWG), Miriam Kleiman and Robert Skwirot.¹⁰

These documents establish that Höttl was a completely unreliable informant who routinely fabricated information to please those who were willing to pay him. In their report, the two U.S. government researchers write:

Höttl's name file is approximately 600 pages, one of the largest of those released to the public so far. The size of the file owes to Höttl's post-war career as a peddler of intelligence, good and bad, to anyone who would pay him. Reports link Höttl to twelve different intelligence services, including the U.S., Yugoslav, Austrian, Israeli, Romanian, Vatican, Swiss, French, West German, Russian, Hungarian and British.

Soon after his arrest by the Americans in May 1945, Höttl began working for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the predecessor to the Central Intelligence Agency, and then for the U.S. Army's Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC). As the two U.S. government researchers put it: "Upon his arrest, Höttl played to the interests of his captors ..." It was during this period, while he was secretly working for American intelligence, that Höttl provided his historic and damning "six million" affidavit for submission by the American prosecution at the Allied-run tribunal at Nuremberg.

Höttl benefited from his readiness to tell those who paid him what they wanted to hear, but this eventually proved his undoing. All the same, it took several years for U.S. intelligence to firmly conclude that it was being had.

In June 1949 one U.S. intelligence official cautioned against using Höttl for any reason, calling him "a man of such low character and poor political record that his use for intelligence activities, regardless of how profitable they may be, is a short-sighted policy by the U.S." In August 1950, CIA messages referred to Höttl as a "notorious fabricator [of] intelligence." A U.S. Army CIC report in early 1952 deemed his information useless, noting that Höttl "is involved in extensive intelligence activities for almost anyone who is willing to purchase his findings." In April 1952 his reports were called



Adolf Eichmann, shown here in SS uniform, dismissed Höttl's November 1945 affidavit as "nonsense," and denied ever having said that six million Jews had been killed.

"worthless and possibly inflated or fabricated."

Interestingly, numerous U.S. intelligence reports identify connections between Höttl and Simon Wiesenthal, the well-known "Nazi hunter." One U.S. Army CIC document described Wiesenthal as the "Chief Austrian Agent of the Israeli Intelligence Bureau." A U.S. Army CIC report in January 1950 noted that for the last three or four months Wiesenthal had "recruited the services of Wilhelm Höttl," and had hired him to gather information for reports by the "Nazi hunter."

In July 1952, when U.S. Army intelligence finally broke completely with Höttl, a letter on U.S. Army stationery warned:

Dr. Höttl has long been known to this headquarters and other allied military organizations in Austria as a fabricator of intelligence information. His reports normally consist of a fine

cobweb of fact, heavily padded with lies, deceit, conjecture and other false types of information. This organization will have absolutely nothing to do with Dr. Höttl or any members of his present entourage. He is persona non grata to the American, French and British elements in Austria.

In their report on his postwar career, U.S. government historical researchers Kleiman and Skwirot conclude:

The voluminous materials in Wilhelm Höttl's personality file ... trace the activities of a notorious intelligence peddler and fabricator, who successfully convinced one intelligence service after another of his value, and then proceeded to lose such support.

Indeed, and as already noted, Höttl "successfully convinced" the American and British prosecutors, and the judges, of the inter-Allied tribunal in Nuremberg, and many others around the world ever since, that German authorities killed six million Jews during the Second World War. And even though U.S. intelligence services and U.S. government researchers have, finally, as it were, discredited him, Höttl's most historically important claim remains widely, and even officially accepted.

The recently released U.S. intelligence documents on Höttl, and the U.S. government report about his postwar career, confirm what some revisionist scholars have contended for years. In his pathbreaking book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, first published in 1976, Dr. Arthur Butz cited sources that were publicly available even in the 1950s to show that, during the war, Höttl had gotten into trouble more than once with SS authorities. His involvement in a shady Polish land deal led in 1942 to an SS investigation of his activities. An internal SS report characterized him as "dishonest, scheming, fawning,... a real hoaxter," and concluded that he was not fit even for SS membership, let alone a sensitive intelligence service position.¹¹ Höttl was,



Ilya Ehrenburg, an internationally prominent Jewish writer and a leading Soviet wartime propagandist, declared in articles published during the war's final months that the Germans had killed six million Jews.

accordingly, demoted. But his luck improved after his friend and fellow Austrian, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, was appointed in 1943 to head the RSHA. It seems that Kaltenbrunner protected him from a second disciplinary action, this one for misappropriation of security service funds.

Regardless of the unreliability of Höttl's infamous affidavit, the more important question remains: How valid is the six million figure?

The most common technique used by Holocaust historians to calculate figures of between five and six million Jewish extermination victims is to compare prewar and postwar estimated Jewish population figures for various European countries and areas, and then assume that the differences between the figures were all killed. This was the method used, for example, by Jacob Lestchinsky to produce a figure of 5,957,000 Jewish Holocaust deaths, in his important 1946 World Jewish Congress report.¹² It is also the technique used by the late Lucy

Dawidowicz, another prominent Jewish Holocaust historian, who estimated a total of 5.9 million Jewish victims.¹³

However, this method fails to take into account substantial numbers of Jews who emigrated or fled to Allied or neutral countries during the war years. It also ignores the fact that many Jews, particularly in Eastern Europe, did not return to their original homelands at the end of the war, but instead emigrated to Palestine, the United States, and other countries beyond Europe.

It further assumes that all Jewish deaths (or "losses") were due to German or Axis policy. Thus, all Jews in areas under German or Axis control who died during the war years are routinely and misleadingly counted as "victims of the Holocaust," regardless of the cause of death. This includes Jews who died of natural causes, perished in Allied bombings of cities and concentration camps, who died as Allied soldiers, particularly in the Soviet military, or who — like hundreds of thousands of German civilians — succumbed to exhaustion, disease, and exposure in the particularly catastrophic final months of the war. Raul Hilberg, probably the most

prominent Holocaust historian, acknowledges that a distinction should be made between “Jewish losses” and “Holocaust victims.” He notes, for example, that the average age of Jews in Germany at the outbreak of the war was abnormally high anyway.¹⁴

It is unlikely that there were ever six million Jews under German control during the war.

The wartime representative of the World Jewish Congress in Switzerland, Gerhard Riegner, confidentially reported to London and Washington in August 1942 that the total number of Jews in the countries occupied or controlled by Germany was three and a half to four million.¹⁵ This figure presumably referred to Jews in the “Greater” German Reich (including Poland), as well as in France, Holland, Belgium, Slovakia, and the occupied Soviet territories. If one adds the approximately 1.2 million Jews estimated to be living in Hungary and Romania, the total number of Jews that came under direct or indirect German control during the war years could not have been more than 5.2 million.

The unreliable character of the legendary Six Million calculation is also shown in the manipulation of Holocaust statistics in the cases of specific countries. In this regard, it is much more fruitful to examine Jewish losses in western European countries, where much more reliable statistics and other data are available, than to attempt to estimate Jewish losses in such eastern territories as Poland, where reliable data is not available. (In the case of Poland, even the country’s borders changed drastically during and just after the war.) An important feature of these manipulations is that even though figures of alleged Jewish wartime losses in individual countries may be inflated and deflated over the years, there is an obvious effort to juggle figures so that the overall total is kept as high as possible.

The Case of Denmark

Consider, for example, the case of Denmark. In 1946 the “Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry” announced in its widely quoted report that, out of a total of 5.7 million European Jews who perished during the war years, 1,500 were Danish Jews.¹⁶ Raul Hilberg, in his highly regarded, three-volume 1985 study, gave a similar figure of 1,000 Danish Jews “lost” during the war years.¹⁷

In fact, fewer than 500 Jews were ever even deported from Denmark. (Most Danish Jews fled to Sweden in 1943.) All of these deportees from Denmark were sent to the ghetto-camp of Theresienstadt (or Terezin)

where precisely 51 Danish Jews (mostly elderly) died, all of natural causes.¹⁸ Thus, even if these 51 are counted as “Holocaust victims,” Jewish “losses” for Denmark were exaggerated approximately 30 times by the supposedly authoritative “Anglo-American Committee,” and 19 times the true figure by Hilberg.

The Korherr Report

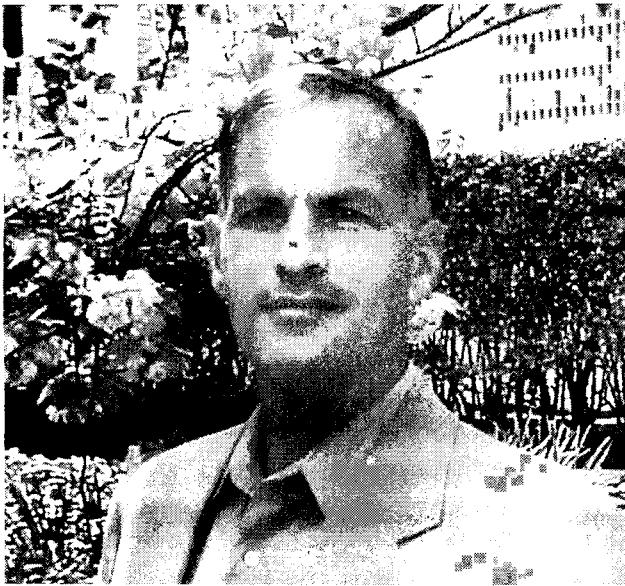
At the beginning of 1943 SS chief Heinrich Himmler ordered his “Inspector for Statistics,” Richard Korherr, to prepare a report on the “Final Solution of the European Jewish Question.” Relying for the most part on information and figures supplied by the Reich Security Main Office, Korherr wrote a sixteen-page statistical survey that he submitted to Himmler on March 23, 1943. A few weeks later he produced a shorter supplemental version with the same title.¹⁹

Even though, as Hilberg has pointed out, much about these reports, including their origin and purpose, “remains obscure,” they are nevertheless the most authoritative wartime statistical records available on the fate of Europe’s Jews.²⁰ These top level, secret German documents contain no mention of an extermination program or mass killings of Jews, a fact that seems hardly possible if such a program had existed. Furthermore, as Jewish historian Gerald Reitlinger noted, they suggest that nothing like six million Jews could have been killed, even assuming the most sinister interpretations of the data.²¹ Korherr, a staunch Catholic, declared after the war that he had not been aware that his reports had any sinister or murderous significance.²²

Jewish Restitution Claims

Another important indication that the Six Million figure is not accurate is the large number of Jewish “Holocaust survivors” who have received restitution payments (*Wiedergutmachung*) from the German government in Bonn and, more recently, in Berlin. Individuals who were “persecuted for political, racial, religious or ideological reasons” by the wartime German regime have been eligible for money from the Bonn and Berlin government under the terms of the Federal Compensation Law (BEG) of 1953 and 1956. This includes Jews who were interned in camps or ghettos, were obliged to wear the star badge, or who lived in hiding.²³

As of January 1984, there were 4.39 million successful individual BEG restitution claims. The great majority of these were from Jews. Raul Hilberg has said that



Norman Finkelstein, author of *The Holocaust Industry*, says that, if recent Israeli government reports are to be believed, there would have been some eight million Jewish "Holocaust survivors" in Europe at the end of the war in May 1945.

"about two thirds" of the allowed claims have been from Jews.²⁴ This is a realistic but possibly conservative estimate. Approximately 40 percent of those receiving payments were living in Israel, 20 percent in West Germany, and 40 percent in the United States and other countries.²⁵

The *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* newspaper reported in 1985 that an estimated 50 percent of Jewish "survivors throughout the world are on West German pensions."²⁶ But this estimate is very probably too high. For example, Jews in Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia were not eligible for restitution, at least not at that time.²⁷ In the United States, only about 66 percent of the Jewish "Holocaust survivors" in the Atlanta (Georgia) area in 1985 had received German restitution money.²⁸

If one conservatively estimates that two thirds of the 4.39 million individual claims for German restitution have come from Jews, that would mean some 2.9 million Jewish claims. And if half of the Jewish "Holocaust survivors" around the world have not received any restitution (which is probably a low figure), and granted that the number of claimants may be somewhat larger than the number of claims, it would appear that some six million European Jews "survived" the Second World War. (Of course, some European Jews who lived through the war years died before the German BEG restitution law was enacted in 1953.) And given that there

were no more than some eight million European Jews under German wartime control,²⁹ the number of Jews who died in Europe during the Second World War must be fewer than three million. As we shall see, the actual figure of Jewish wartime dead is substantially lower.

Finally, estimates of "Holocaust survivors" provided in recent years by authoritative Jewish sources cannot be reconciled with the generally accepted "Holocaust" story or the Six Million figure.

Before going further, it is a remarkable fact that, in recent years, the number of "Holocaust survivors" has actually been *increasing*. This is because — as Norman Finkelstein stresses in his important book, *The Holocaust Industry* — Israel, the World Jewish Congress, and other major Jewish organizations, all of which demand and collect billions in the name of "Holocaust survivors," have an interest in inflating figures both of wartime victims and of postwar survivors.

A report issued in July 1997 — that is, fifty-three years after the end of the war — by a committee organized by the Israeli prime minister's office estimated the number of "Holocaust survivors" (admittedly defined rather broadly) at between 834,000 and 960,000. A similarly authoritative report issued in June 2000, that is, fifty-five years after the end of the war in Europe, estimated the number of Jewish "Holocaust" survivors at between 832,000 and 935,000.³⁰ These figures, Robert Faurisson has written, suggest that there were slightly more than three million Jewish "survivors" in Europe at the end of the 1939-1945 war.³¹

Norman Finkelstein, a professor of political science at Hunter College in New York, and author of *The Holocaust Industry*, has commented that, on the basis of these Israeli or Jewish figures, there would have been eight million Jewish "Holocaust survivors" in Europe at the end of the war in May 1945. Remarking on this, Finkelstein has said:³²

There were fewer than eight million Jews in all of Nazi-occupied Europe. In other words, if these numbers are correct, the Holocaust didn't happen. As my mother used to say, if everyone who claims to be a Holocaust survivor actually is one, who did Hitler kill?

How many Jews did die during the Second World War? A year after the end of the war, an apparently impartial Swiss analysis entitled "How high is the number of Jewish victims?" concluded that no more than 1.5 million European Jews could have perished (of all causes) under German rule during the war. It appeared in June 1946 in the respected daily *Baseler Nachrichten*

of neutral Switzerland.³³ The widely-cited figures of between five and six million Jewish dead, the analysis noted, were not based on official sources, but merely private and semi-official estimates that greatly exaggerated the number of Jews that ever came under German control.

Stephen F. Pinter, a U.S. War Department attorney who was stationed in Germany after the war, published a statement in 1959 in which he condemned what he called “the old propaganda myth that millions of Jews were killed by the National Socialists.” He went on to write:³⁴

From what I was able to determine during six postwar years in Germany and Austria, there were a number of Jews killed, but the figure of a million was certainly never reached. I interviewed thousands of Jews, former inmates of concentration camps in Germany and Austria, and consider myself as well qualified as any man on this subject.

Some revisionist historians have reached similar conclusions. Arthur Butz and Robert Faurisson have written that as many as one million European Jews may have died of all causes during the war years (not counting those serving in military forces).³⁵ Walter Sanning, a European-American scholar and university lecturer, concluded in his detailed 1983 study that total Jewish losses during the Second World War were “in the neighborhood” of 1.25 million, many of whom died as Red Army soldiers or in Soviet camps and forced evacuations.³⁶

A common rejoinder to expressions of skepticism about the Six Million is rhetorically to ask: “What difference does it make how many were killed? It would be terrible if just one million, or even one thousand, Jews were murdered.” To many people, efforts to establish the true numbers seem like insensitive and perhaps irrelevant quibbling. But the skeptics are not the ones who incessantly and insistently go on about Six Million murdered Jews. It is not the revisionists who have made a totem of this legendary figure, or who invoke it as quasi-sacrosanct ritual symbol. In any case, striving for historical exactitude, even about the iconic Six Million, is precisely what historians are supposed to do.

Notes

1. *World Book Encyclopedia*, 1984 edition, s.v. “Holocaust.” vol. 9, pp. 263-264.
2. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: Holt, Rine-

hart and Winston, 1986), p. 811.

3. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1971 edition, s.v. “Holocaust.”
4. The Ehrenburg essays, published in *Soviet War News* (London), Dec. 22, 1944, Jan. 4 and March 15, 1945, are reprinted in facsimile in the fifth edition of Joachim Hoffmann’s detailed study, *Stalin’s Vernichtungskrieg 1941-1945* (Munich: Herbig, 1999), pp. 390-393 (see also p. 183), and in Hoffmann, *Stalin’s War of Extermination 1941-1945* (Capshaw, Alabama: TADP, 2001), pp. 189-190, 402-405.
5. David Irving, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle* (London: Focal Point, 1996), pp. 61-62.
6. *The American Hebrew* (New York), Oct. 31, 1919, p. 582. Facsimile in *The Journal of Historical Review* 15, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1995), p. 31. Also cited in Irving, *Nuremberg*, p. 62.
7. *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT), vol. 1 (Nuremberg: 1947-1949), pp. 252-253; IMT, vol. 19, p. 434; and IMT, vol. 22, p. 496.
8. Höttl affidavit of Nov. 26, 1945: 2738-PS (USA-296) in IMT, vol. 31, pp. 85-87, and *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (NC&A), vol. 5 (Washington, DC: 1946-1948), pp. 380-382; 2615-PS in NC&A, vol. 5, pp. 338-339. On the ad hoc and self-serving origins of the Höttl affidavit, see Otto Skorzeny’s letter of Dec. 14, 1956, in Gerd Honsik, *Freispruch für Hitler?* (Gibraltar and Barcelona: 1994), pp. 196-197.
9. R. Aschenauer, ed., *Ich, Adolf Eichmann* (Leoni [Bavaria]: Druffel, 1980), pp. 460-461, 474; Jochen von Lang, ed., *Eichmann Interrogated* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983), pp. 117-118. Dieter Wisliceny, another former SS officer, made a statement similar to Höttl’s at Nuremberg on Jan. 3, 1946, but spoke of “only” four or five million Jews killed. IMT, vol. 4, p. 371. Eichmann later called Wisliceny’s comments “theater,” and said that he never had any figures of “exterminated” Jews. See von Lang, ed., *Eichmann*, pp. 164-165, 94-95, 110-117.
10. The report is posted on the U.S. National Archives web site: <http://www.nara.gov/iwg/declass/hoettl.html>
11. Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach, CA: IHR, 1997), p. 81.
12. Jacob Lestchinsky (Leszczynski), “Balance Sheet of Extermination,” 1946 and revised in 1955. Cited in Nora Levin, *The Holocaust* (New York: Crowell, 1968), p. 718; Leon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1979), p. 335 (*Revue d’histoire...*, Oct. 1956); Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985), p. 1202.
13. Lucy Dawidowicz, *A Holocaust Reader* (New York: Behrman, 1976), p. 381; Lucy Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam [pb. ed.], 1976), p. 544.
14. Hilberg, *Destruction*, p. 1206.

15. Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980; New York: Henry Holt, 1998), p. 77.
16. Levin, *Holocaust*, p. 715; Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London: Sphere Books [pb., 2nd ed.], 1971), p. 546; Wolfgang Scheffler, *Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Berlin: Colloquium, 1960), p. 114.
17. Hilberg, *Destruction*, p. 1048.
18. Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1969), p. 318; Dawidowicz, *The War*, p. 505.
19. Documents NO-5193 through NO-5198. Complete texts in German and English in: Serge Klarsfeld, ed., *The Holocaust and the Neo-Nazi Mythomania* (New York: B. Klarsfeld Foundation, 1978), pp. 165-211 (appendices). Also published in: John Mendelsohn, ed., *The Holocaust: Selected Documents in Eighteen Volumes* (New York: Garland, 1982), vol. 12, pp. 210 ff. (The two reports are sometimes together referred to as "the Korherr report.") See also Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 1204-1206; Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution*, p. 136, 138; von Lang, ed., *Eichmann*, pp. 112-115.
20. Raul Hilberg, "The Statistic," in: François Furet, ed., *Unanswered Questions: Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews* (New York: Schocken, 1989), p. 158.
21. Reitlinger, *Final Solution*, pp. 534-535.
22. Gerald Reitlinger, *The SS: Alibi of a Nation, 1922-1945* (New York: Viking/Compass [pb.], 1968), pp. 221-223; Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 1205-1206. In a letter to *Der Spiegel* (Nr. 31, July 25, 1977, p. 12), Korherr specifically stated that the term "special treatment" in a report's first draft did not refer to killing.
23. *Focus on "Restitution in Germany"*, No. 1, May 1985, p. 3. (Information bulletin of the German Information Center, New York City, an agency of the German Federal government); see also: Hilberg, *Destruction*, pp. 1165, 1166; Mark Weber, "West Germany's Holocaust Payoff," *JHR* 8, no. 2 (summer 1988), pp. 243-250.
24. Hilberg testimony in Zündel case, Toronto District court, Jan. 18, 1985. Transcript page 1229.
25. *Focus on "Restitution in Germany"* (German Information Center), May 1985, p. 3.
26. *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Sunday, March 31, 1985, p. 15 A.
27. Hilberg, *Destruction*, p. 1170; D. Margolick, "Soviet Emigre Lawyer...", *New York Times*, March 10, 1983, p. B2.
28. *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, March 31, 1985, pp. 15 A, 17A.
29. Jacob Lestchinsky, statistician for the American Jewish Congress, estimated that in 1939 there were 8.25 million Jews in the lands that came under German or Axis control. "Balance Sheet of Extermination," in Levin, *Holocaust*, p. 718. Lucy Dawidowicz estimated that the "pre-Final Solution population" of the lands that came under Axis control was 8.86 million. Dawidowicz, *The War*, p. 544.
30. *Number of Living Holocaust Survivors*, July 27, 1997, report of the "Spanic Committee," organized by the Israeli Prime Minister's Office (with estimates slightly revised in May 1998), and the "Ukeles" report, June 28, 2000, commissioned by the "Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany," a semi-official Jewish agency. Both cited in: "Special Master's Proposed Plan of Allocation and Distribution of Settlement Proceeds," (Sept. 2000, also referred to as the "Gribetz Plan"), Volume I, Annex C, "Demographics," pp. C-2, C-8, C-9. Posted on line at the "Official Information Web Site for the Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Against Swiss Banks and other Swiss Entities": <http://www.Swissbankclaims.com/media>
31. Robert Faurisson, "Impact and Future of Holocaust Revisionism," *JHR* 19 (Jan.-Feb. 2000), pp. 9, 28 (n. 24).
32. Interview with Norman Finkelstein, by Viktor Frölke, in *Salon.com*, "Shoah business," August 30, 2000. Posted on-line at: <http://www.salon.com/books/int/2000/08/30/finkelstein/index.html> See also: N. Finkelstein, "How the Holocaust Industry Stole the Swiss Monies," June 2001, Postscript to Foreign Translations. Posted on-line: <http://www.normanfinkelstein.com/id112.htm>
33. "Wie hoch ist die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer?", *Baseler Nachrichten* (Abend-Blatt), June 13, 1946, p. 2. (This newspaper, founded in 1845, is no longer published.)
34. Pinter letter in the national Catholic weekly, *Our Sunday Visitor*, June 14, 1959, p. 15.
35. Butz, *Hoax*, p. 239; Robert Faurisson interview with *Storia Illustrata* (Italy), August 1979. Authorized translations in: Serge Thion (with Robert Faurisson), *Vérité historique ou vérité politique?* (Paris: 1980), p. 197, and *JHR* 2 (winter 1981), p. 348.
36. Walter Sanning, *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* (Newport Beach, CA: IHR, 1983), pp. 198, 196.

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Convergence or Divergence?: On Recent Evidence for Zyklon Induction Holes at Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematory II

BRIAN RENK

WHAT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED as “the most extensive judicial examination of the Holocaust period since the [1961] Adolf Eichmann trial in Israel,” David Irving’s libel action against Deborah Lipstadt, generated a wealth of fresh research and renewed the debate over gassing at Auschwitz during the Second World War.¹ No aspect of the Auschwitz gassing claim was more contested at that trial than the evidence for and against four holes in the roof of an underground room of crematorium II at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The jousts over this evidence between Irving and the defense expert on Auschwitz architecture, Professor Robert Jan van Pelt, provided some of the trial’s most heated exchanges.

Trivial as the question of openings in a roof might seem, both sides of the debate, revisionists and “exterminationists,” are agreed that such holes would have been necessary for the introduction of the alleged killing agent, the cyanide-based pesticide Zyklon B. The holes are thus central to the accusation that victims were murdered by gas in a cellar of Crematorium (crematory facility or *Krema*) II in 1943 and 1944. Indeed, in the eyes of Professor van Pelt, considered the histor-

ical establishment’s leading expert on the design and function of the Auschwitz crematoria: “Crematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room, more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed. If you would draw a map of human suffering, if you created a geography of atrocity, this would be the absolute center.”²

Revisionist investigators, mindful of Arthur Butz’s opinion that Auschwitz “is the key to the whole story” of the mass gassing allegation, have long focused on that camp.³ In doing so, some revisionists have called attention to the absence of evidence for the necessary holes in the roof of the alleged gas chamber of Auschwitz’s Crematorium II. In the late 1970s, when Auschwitz was administered by Poland’s Communist government, the Swede Ditlieb Felderer took hundreds of photographs of the remains of the Auschwitz crematoria ruins, and noted the seeming absence of holes for introducing Zyklon B, as described in eyewitness testimony. Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf conducted more exacting forensic examinations of the ruins in the late 1980s and

Brian Renk was born in Canada in 1964. He studied at Selkirk College and the University of British Columbia (Vancouver) with a special interest in history and philosophy. He is currently a professional consultant in the masonry industry. In 1999, 2000 and 2001 he addressed David Irving’s “Real History” conference in Cincinnati. At the 2001 meeting, he debated fellow researcher and author Charles Provan on the evidence for the alleged mass killings in gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau in 1943 and 1944. Renk’s detailed dissection of the infamous “Franke-Gricksch ‘Resettlement-Action Report’” appeared in the Fall 1991 *Journal*. He and his wife make their home in North Vancouver, British Columbia.



Brian Renk at the 13th IHR Conference in Irvine, California, May 2000.

early 1990s, drawing the same conclusion. The eminent French revisionist Professor Robert Faurisson summed up the problem of the holes in 1993 with a simple slogan, "No holes, no Holocaust."

During the Irving trial it was not merely the evidence for and against the all-important holes that was in dispute, but also the manner in which that evidence was to be evaluated. In his Judgement of April 11, 2000, the Hon. Mr. Justice Charles Gray questioned whether British historian David Irving had "bent or falsified or misrepresented evidence," something that the Lipstadt defense eagerly asserted.⁴

On the other hand, during the trial van Pelt invoked an explanatory concept seemingly diametrically opposed to bending the facts: "convergence of evidence." This is a process of evaluation by which independent strands of evidence, when considered together with other individual pieces of evidence, are said to indicate a common conclusion, even in the absence of a "smoking gun."⁵

The chief purpose of this article is the careful examination of recent and seemingly authoritative attempts to establish the presence of roof holes in *Leichenkeller* (or morgue) 1 of crematory facility II, by Lipstadt expert witness Robert Jan van Pelt and others. Mindful of the concern for careful interpretation of the evidence in the Irving trial, this article will also examine the differing kinds of evidence offered for the roof openings in the light of both bending and convergence: is there an

actual convergence of evidence for the holes, or has quite divergent evidence been bent and twisted in order to make it *seem* as if it converged?

Missing Holes

In his judgment in favor of Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books, the Hon. Mr. Justice Charles Gray summarized the contrasting arguments of the defendants and David Irving on the defense's evidence for openings in the roof of the alleged gas chamber in Crematorium II:

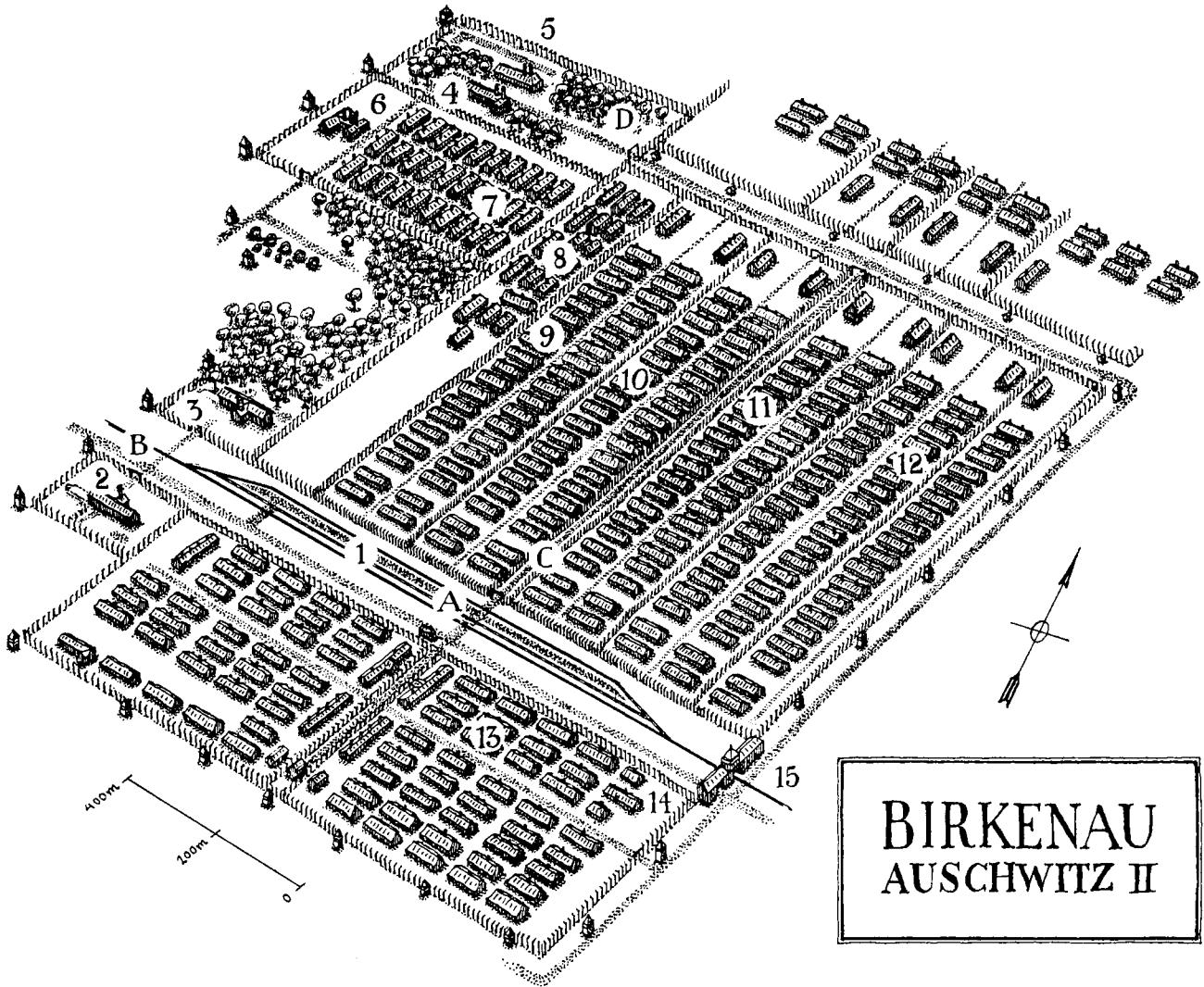
It is common ground that the roof of *Leichenkeller* I was supported by seven concrete pillars. The Defendants allege that adjacent to four of these pillars there ran hollow ducts or chimneys made of heavy wire mesh which protruded through holes in the roof where the pellets were poured into them and ran down into the chamber below. These ducts were 70 square centimeters [27.3 inches square, i.e. 745.29 sq. inches] in size but tapered at the top where they passed through the roof. It is Irving's case that these ducts never existed. He made that assertion because, he said, there is no trace in what remains of the roof of any holes through it. Furthermore the chimneys do not appear in the blueprints for the construction of the Crematoria. Part of the roof of *Leichenkeller* I is intact, although it has pancaked down on to the floor. Irving produced a photograph which appears to show no sign of any hole in the roof.⁶

In his next sentence Justice Gray pointed to a major concession by Robert Jan van Pelt, the defense's expert witness on the Auschwitz crematoria: "Van Pelt conceded in one of his supplementary reports that there is no sign of the holes." Or, as van Pelt wrote in his expert report for the Lipstadt defense: "Today, these four small holes that connected the wire-mesh columns and the chimneys cannot be observed in the ruined remains of the concrete slab."⁷

Under cross-examination by David Irving on January 28, 2000, van Pelt admitted that he had "frequently visited the roof of the alleged factory of death," but had not seen the requisite holes there:

Irving: You have not seen any holes in the roof, have you, in the — when you went there? You have not found any holes?

Van Pelt: I have not seen the holes for the col-



Features of Birkenau camp (Auschwitz II):

1. Rail siding and "selection" ramp
2. Crematory facility (Krema) II
3. Crematory facility (Krema) III
4. Crematory facility (Krema) IV
5. Crematory facility (Krema) V
6. "Disinfection and Disinfestation Facility," also known as the "Central Sauna"
7. "Canada" section, where inmates' belongings were sorted and stored.
8. Hospital or sick bay section
9. "Gypsy Camp" section
10. "Men's Camp" section
11. "Hungarian Camp" section
12. "Family camp" section
13. "Women's Camp" section
15. Entry gate for rail transport

umns, no.

Irving: Not for the introduction of the cyanide?

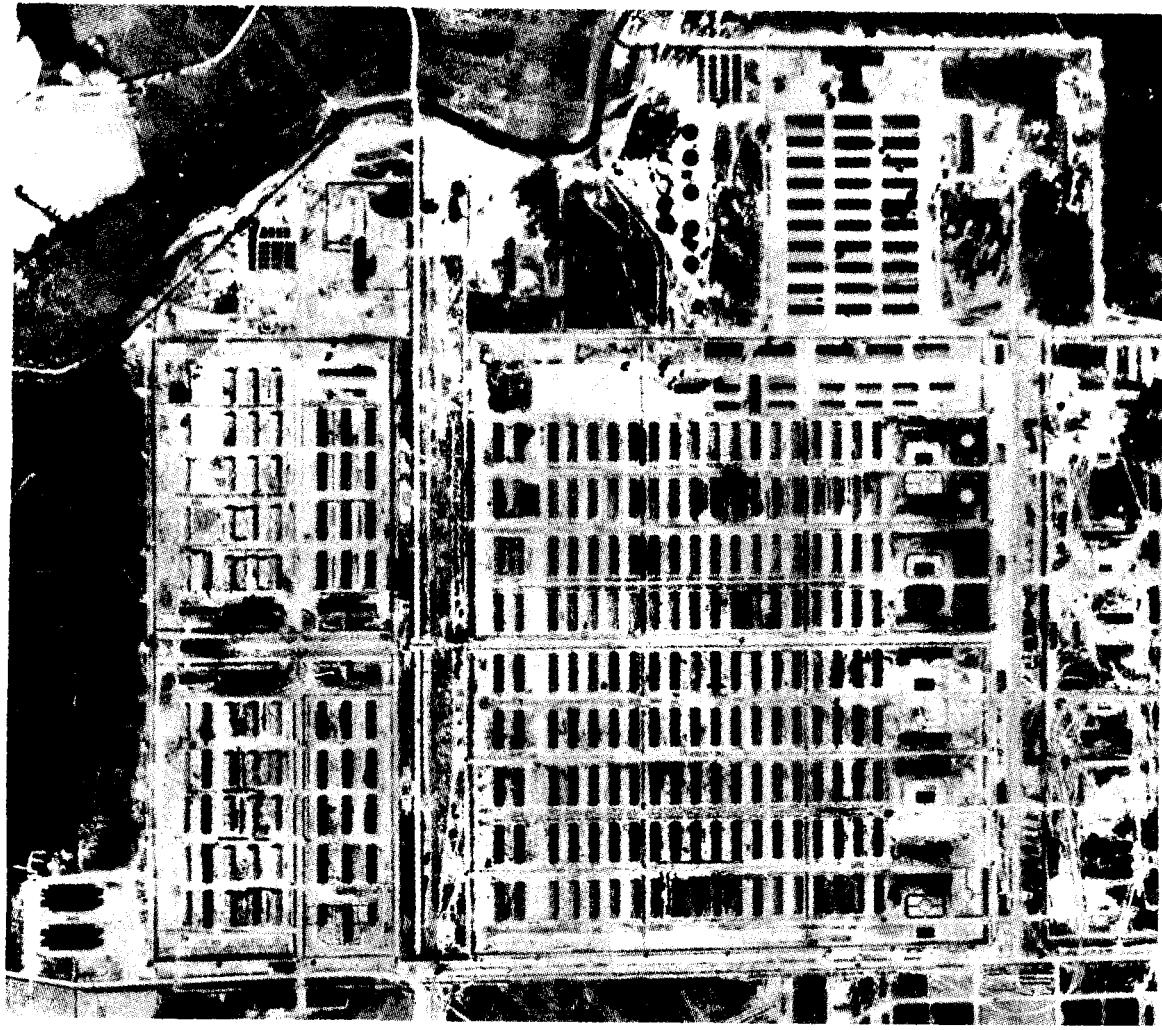
Van Pelt: No.⁸

In his expert report, van Pelt advanced an odd rationale for the absence of these holes:

Yet does this mean they were never there? We know that after the cessation of the gassings in the Fall of 1944 all the gassing equipment was removed, which implies both the wire-mesh

columns and the chimneys. What would have remained would have been the four narrow holes in the slab. While there is not certainty in this particular matter, it would have been logical to attach at the location where the columns had been some formwork at the bottom of the gas chamber ceiling, and pour some concrete in the holes, and thus restore the slab.⁹

During cross-examination, Irving poured scorn on this argument. As the BBC News Online reported, Irv-



The Birkenau camp, from an enlarged portion of an Allied aerial reconnaissance photograph taken on May 31, 1944. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were supposedly killed between early 1943 and late 1944 in semi-underground morgues (*Leichenkeller*) adjacent to crematory buildings (*Kremas*) II and III, visible at the upper left. Source: John Ball, *The Ball Report* (1993), p. 5 (Photo from the US National Archives)

ing told the court: "I do not accept that the Nazis, in the last frantic days of the camp, when they were in a blue funk, would have gone around with buckets of cement filling the holes that they were going to dynamite."¹⁰

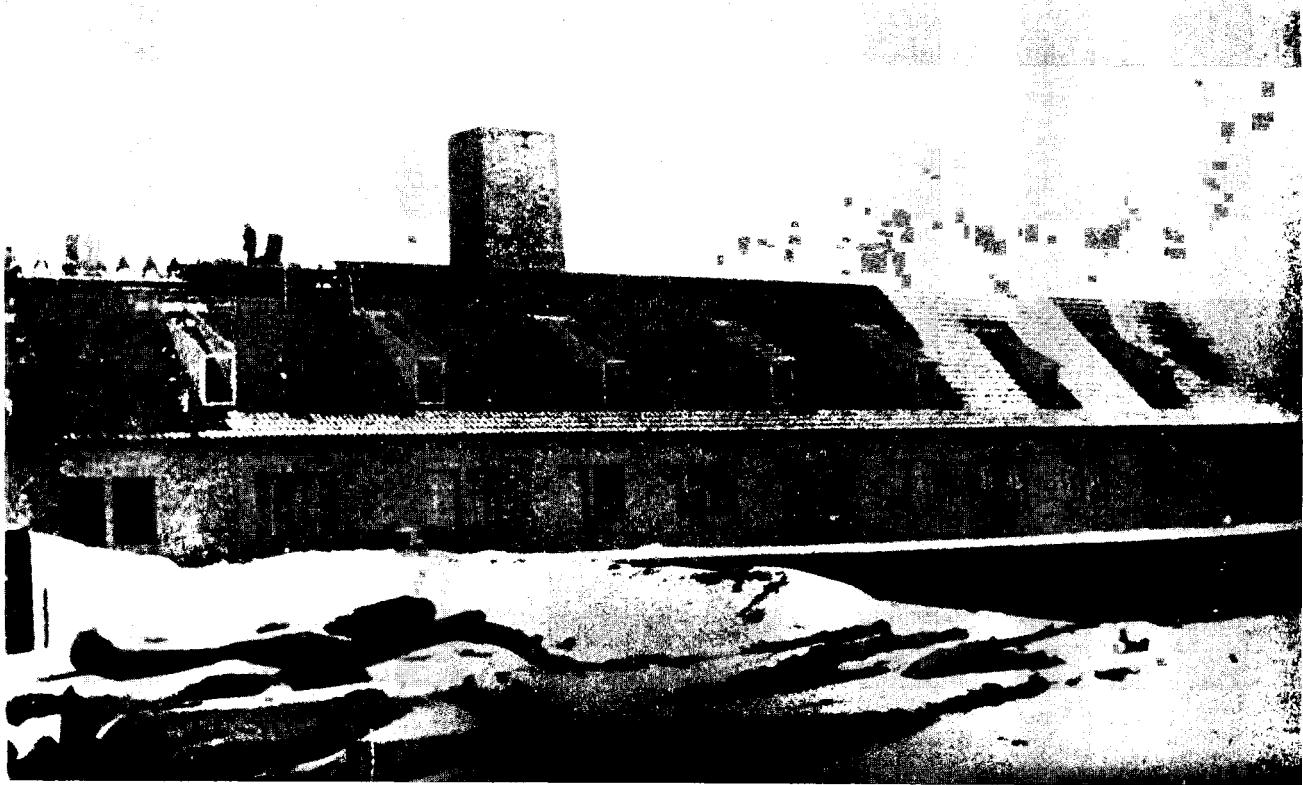
A 'Restoration' So Perfect It Left No Traces?

There are sound technical reasons for joining Irving in rejecting van Pelt's claim that the Germans filled, let alone "restored," the alleged Zyklon holes in the roof of *Leichenkeller* 1. In the first place, it would simply not have been possible to "restore the slab," as van Pelt alleged was done.

The concrete roofs of the *Leichenkeller* were reinforced with lengths of rebar (short for reinforcing bar), steel rods placed in concrete when it is poured. If holes

had been designed prior to the original concrete pour, and created by means of formwork placed to exclude inflowing concrete (as Van Pelt believes), then naturally the steel reinforcement rods would have been confined to the surrounding concrete.

To be sure, it would have been possible to "pour some concrete in the holes" at a later time. If at the end of the war wooden formwork was placed beneath the holes and concrete poured into them (van Pelt's scenario), then square blocks of concrete would have formed within the apertures after drying. These blocks could not have been affixed to the existing rebar grid. Indeed, there are only two ways in which these areas could have been partially reinforced to prevent the concrete blocks from falling out of the holes upon removal of the formwork:



Birkenau crematory structure (*Krema*) II, in a German photograph taken in late January 1943. At the upper left a man can be seen working on the roof. In the right foreground, under a thin coating of snow, one can see the low, rectangular roof of semi-underground morgue (*Leichenkeller*) 1, which juts perpendicularly from the *Krema* building. Beneath that roof, it is widely claimed, half a million Jews were killed with poison gas from early 1943 to late 1944. Yet in this photograph, which was taken well after the concrete roof had been poured, there is no trace of openings — "vents" or "chimneys" claimed by a few survivor "witnesses" — that would have been necessary for the induction of the lethal Zyklon B. Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), p. 335. (Photo from the Auschwitz State Museum archives).

- chipping or cutting the sides of the apertures to create ridges, or divets, to secure the blocks in place, or else increasing the size of the holes on top, so that the blocks poured to fit could not fall through the holes in the ceiling below;

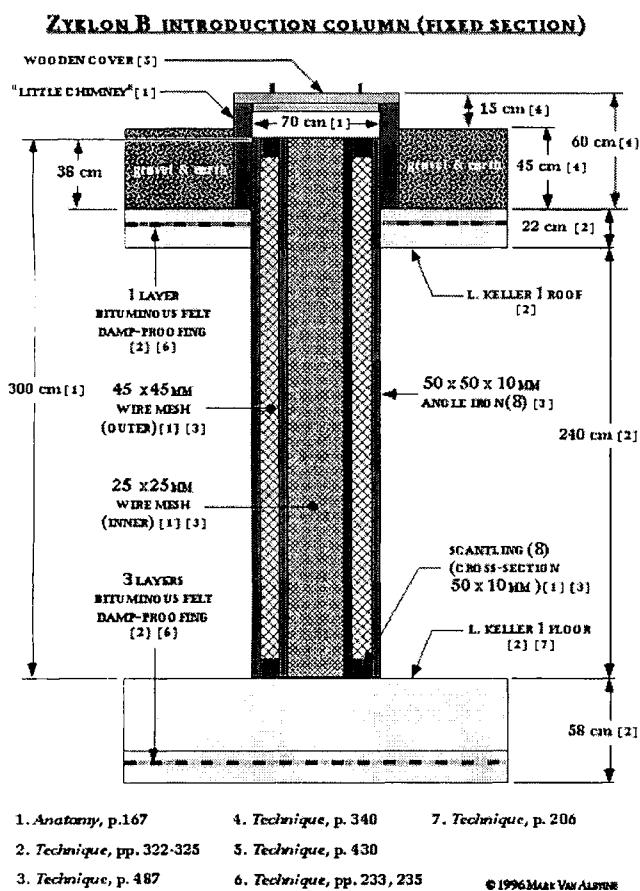
- drilling horizontally into the concrete roof on all four sides of each opening, allowing the placement of steel dowels, which would support the concrete blocks once they cured.

Neither of these construction techniques would have secured the concrete in the holes for long, however. In early 1945 Auschwitz personnel inserted powerful charges in the concrete roof support columns immediately adjacent to the alleged positions of the filled-in holes, and then dynamited the *Leichenkeller* roof.¹¹

Van Pelt's claim that concrete was simply poured into the holes, and then blown out when the building was dynamited, does little to advance the argument that

the holes existed. As Irving observed, it would seem senseless for the Germans to have filled the holes with concrete, and then blown the filler blocks out by placing massive dynamite charges directly beneath them a few weeks later. More important, despite several onsite searches van Pelt has conceded, as we have seen, that today the alleged holes "cannot be observed in the ruined remains of the concrete slab."

Let us consider what would necessarily be visible had the holes, or their concrete fillers, somehow survived the explosion. Both would be easy to spot today, even in the ruins. The places where concrete had been poured long after the initial pour of the roof slab would be easily distinguishable from the surrounding slab. Variations in concrete mixing compounds (ratios of sand, cement, and water, etc., as well as consistency of source for materials), curing conditions (temperature and humidity), drying lines and hairline cracks due to shrinkage, and aging (yellowing) all contribute to vari-



An "exterminationist" diagram of an alleged wire-mesh induction column, with opening at the top, through which Zyklon B was supposedly poured into the "gas chamber" of Birkenau Krema II. No documentary or material evidence for the existence of any such opening has ever been found. In this diagram, based on "synthesized" testimonies of a few former prisoners, the opening above the wire-mesh columns is more than 2 x 2 feet (70 x 70 cm) wide. Other defenders of the gas chamber story, citing other prisoner testimony, claim that the opening was only about 10 x 10 inches (25 x 25 cm) wide. Source: Mark Van Alstine, J. McCarthy, "Zyklon Introduction Columns," Holocaust History Project: <http://www.holocaust-history.org/auschwitz/intro-columns/>

ations in appearance and consistency in finished concrete products. The "restored" areas of the concrete roof slab would be recognizable, from above and below, as concrete repair patches. Van Pelt, who consults with architects in his faculty at the University of Waterloo, should certainly know this. Yet despite numerous inspections of the ruins of the roof slab of Crematorium II by van Pelt and his allies, to date none of these researchers has been able to discover any traces of such

a restoration. This doubtless explains why van Pelt, for all his architectural expertise on Auschwitz, made no attempt at the Irving-Lipstadt trial to present physical evidence for the murderous holes of Crematorium II, whether filled in or not.

The Problem of The Wire Mesh Columns

Unable to find physical evidence of Zyklon-induction holes at the site, or a single reference to them in the camp's voluminous design and construction records, van Pelt was forced to rely on the postwar testimony of two Auschwitz survivors, Henryk Tauber and Michal Kula.

Cross-examined on his impression of the former Sonderkommando worker Henryk Tauber, who gave his testimony before a Soviet-Polish investigative commission on May 24, 1945, Van Pelt answered: "Tauber is an amazingly good witness ... very precise in general."¹²

In his testimony Henryk Tauber described, in meticulous detail, the means by which Zyklon B granules were supposedly introduced into the room. According to Tauber (and thus van Pelt), the holes in the roof opened to accommodate an introduction device constructed of wire mesh:

The roof of the gas chamber was supported by concrete pillars running down the middle of its length. On either side of these pillars there were four others, two on each side. The sides of these pillars, which went up through the roof, were of heavy wire mesh. Inside this grid, there was another of finer mesh and inside that a third of very fine mesh. Inside this last mesh cage there was a removable can that was pulled out with a wire to recover the pellets from which the gas had evaporated.¹³

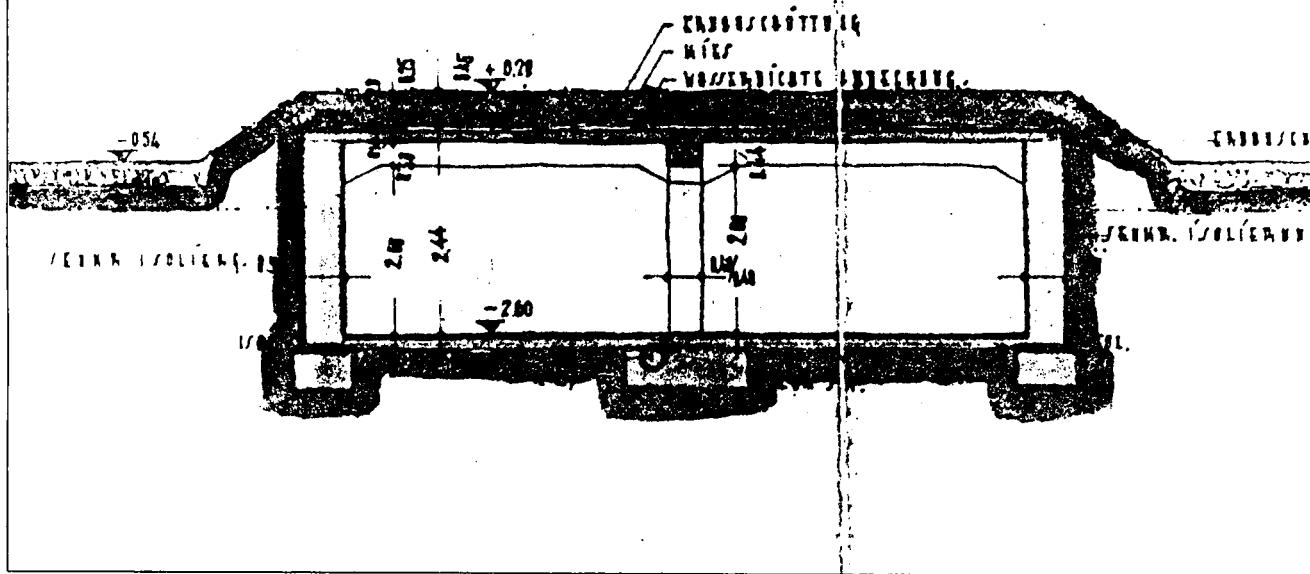
Van Pelt, in both his expert report and his cross-examination, augmented Tauber's testimony with that of Michal Kula, who claimed to have constructed the wire mesh "pillars" described by Tauber. On June 11, 1945, Kula testified to examining magistrate Jan Sehn (like Tauber's questioners a Communist functionary):

Among other things the metal workshop made the false showers intended for the gas chambers, as well as the wire-mesh columns for the introduction of the contents of the tins with Zyklon into the gas chambers.

These columns were around 3 meters high

urd)

Leichenkeller 2.



This cross section diagram of a Birkenau crematory structure morgue (*Leichenkeller*) was prepared in September 1943 by the "Huta" construction firm. As with other wartime German diagrams and documents, it shows no holes or "chimneys" in the roof, "wire mesh columns," or traces of any "homicidal adaptations." Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 324.

[ca. 9 feet, 10 inches], and they were 70 centimeters square in plan. Such a column consisted of 6 wire screens which were built the one within the other. The inner screen was made from 3 millimeter [ca. one-eighth of an inch] thick wire, fastened to iron corner posts of 50 by 10 millimeters. Such iron corner posts were on each corner of the column and connected on the top in the same manner. The openings of the wire mesh were 45 millimeters square. The second screen was made in the same manner, and constructed within the column at 150 millimeters distance from the first. The openings of the second were around 25 millimeters square. In the corners these screens were connected to each other by iron posts. The third part of this column could be moved. It was an empty column with a square footprint of around 150 millimeters made of sheet zinc. At the top it was closed by a metal sheet, and at the bottom with

a square base. At a distance of 25 millimeters from the sides of these columns were soldered tin corners supported by tin brackets.

On these corners were mounted a thin mesh with openings of about one millimeter square. This mesh ended at the bottom of the column and from here ran in the [Verlaenderung] of the screen a tin frame until the top of the column. The contents of a Zyklon tin were thrown from the top on the distributor, which allowed for a equal distribution of the Zyklon to all four sides of the column. After the evaporation of the gas the whole middle column was taken out.”¹⁴

According to van Pelt, the wire mesh devices have vanished: "The wire mesh columns had been totally dismantled after the cessation of gassings and before the demolition of the crematoria, and no remains were found."¹⁵

These two testimonies are not merely van Pelt's chief



In the background of this February 1943 photograph is the south side of Birkenau crematory structure (*Krema*) II. What appear to be several objects can be seen on the roof of the semi-underground morgue (the alleged "gas chamber"). Anti-revisionist writers Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman contend that these are openings for deadly Zyklon. But these "openings" are in the "wrong" places. As non-revisionist researcher Charles Provan acknowledges, "when one lays out the plan of the *Leichenkeller* from the point of view of the photographer who took this picture, and then makes a geometric overlay to determine where the vent objects were located, the following appears: all three vent-like objects, if located close to the central roof beam, are all on the southern half of the roof." Sources: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 340; M. Shermer, A. Grobman, *Denying History* (2000), pp. 145-146; C. Provan, *No Holes?, No Holocaust?* (2000), pp. 17-18, 33.

evidence: they are his only evidence of substance for the existence of openings through which Zyklon could have been introduced into the alleged chamber in Crematorium II, ground zero of the Holocaust myth.

The Incredible, Undetectable, Shrinking Zyklon Holes

The two testimonies on which van Pelt is constrained to rely are not without their pitfalls for the champions of the holes. It will be remembered that in his Judgment, Justice Gray took note of van Pelt's claim, made under cross-examination, that the wire mesh columns described by van Pelt's witnesses "were 70 square centimeters [etc.] in size but tapered at the top where they passed through the roof." Van Pelt defended this

position at some length in the following joust with David Irving in London's High Court on January 25, 2000:

Irving: I only wanted to know roughly what size of wire mesh we are talking about, what the width of this column going up to the ceiling was. We have probably got a pretty clear picture of [the] kind of thing it was, larger than a drainpipe.

Van Pelt: Yes. Kula says these columns were around 3 metres high and they [were] 70 metres square.

Irving: 70 metres?

Van Pelt: 70 centimetres.

Irving: The wire mesh columns?

Van Pelt: Yes.

Irving: 70 centimetres is of the order of 2 feet 6 inches?

Van Pelt: Yes, a little less, 2 feet three inches.

Irving: So this hole in the roof or these holes in the roof, how many wire mesh columns were there, four?

Van Pelt: Four.

Irving: So the holes in the roof would have been up to 2 foot 6 inches across?

Van Pelt: Absolutely not, because the whole column may be 2 feet 4 inches, but Zyklon B is only introduced right in the centre piece. The centre piece, we have concentric columns, so ultimately the centre piece can be a rather narrow thing, so the hole through the roof could have been a relatively narrow pipe.

Irving: But we are told here he had a concrete cover with two handles covering this whole, which rather suggests something larger than a tennis ball?

Van Pelt: But the concrete cover, we have a picture of these actual chimneys in the documents. Of course you do not when you create this pipe which comes up out the centre of the wire mesh columns, of course you take a larger kind of little chimney around it.

Justice Gray: As a funnel?

Van Pelt: As a funnel, yes. Like a chimney itself always is wider than the actual smoke channel going through it.¹⁶

Here, size very much matters, because the 70 cm square roof holes that Irving is arguing for are in fact on the order of eight times greater in area than the 25 cm or so square apertures for the "centre piece[s]" that van Pelt insists on. For if persistent searches of crematorium roof have yielded nothing like a proper Zyklon introduction aperture, then the smaller the missing holes are supposed to have been, the better.

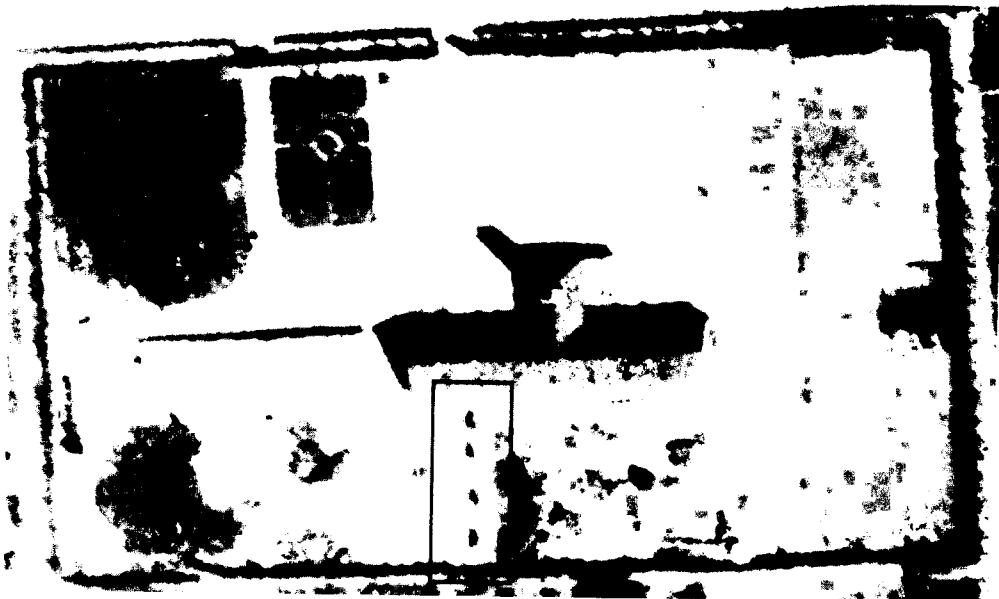
Yet van Pelt's contention that only the central core of the wire mesh column continued through the roof, and thus "... the hole through the roof could have been a



This detailed enlargement of a wartime Allied aerial reconnaissance photo, taken on August 25, 1944, shows the roof of morgue 1 at Birkenau Krema II. "Exterminationists" such as Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman contend that the marks or smudges, visible in a row on the morgue roof, are openings or vents through which Zyklon was poured into the "gas chamber." But as anti-revisionist Auschwitz researcher Charles Provan has written, "no matter what one thinks of the authenticity of the smudgy marks, it is impossible to view them, whether authentic or not, as 'vents.'" All the marks are on the eastern side of the roof, and cannot be reconciled with witness "testimonies." Sources: US National Archives photo; C. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?* (2000), p. 23.

relatively narrow pipe," misrepresents van Pelt's only evidence, the testimony of Tauber and Kula. As Kula stated to the examining magistrate, Sehn:

These columns were around 3 meters high, and they were 70 centimetres square in plan ... The third part of this column could be moved. It was an empty column with a square footprint of around 150 millimeters made of sheet zinc.



Slanting the evidence: This enlargement of an aerial reconnaissance photograph of Birkenau Krema II was taken on August 25, 1944. It appears in the anti-revisionist book, *Denying History* by Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, who caption it with the remark: "On the roof of the gas chamber, note the four staggered shadows, openings through which the Zyklon-B pellets could be poured, as described in eyewitness accounts." Shermer and Grobman have superimposed a rectangular outline over the roof, and have tilted the entire photo, to give the false impression that the "shadows" are perpendicular to the main crematory building. Source: M. Shermer, A. Grobman, *Denying History* (2000), p. 145.

In *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (1989), anti-revisionist French researcher Jean-Claude Pressac furnished a drawing of these wire mesh devices as described by Kula.¹⁷ It depicts each of the wire columns as "around 3 meters high." The drawing shows a type of removable basket in the center of the device. Yet without any basis in Kula's testimony, and in contradiction to the drawing, Van Pelt asserted that the outer sides of these rectangular columns rose only to the ceiling, and invented a "relatively narrow pipe" (contradicting his witness's description of a removable "empty column"), that might have fit in van Pelt's four elusive and arbitrarily diminutive roof openings, if only he could find them — and somehow lay hands on the missing four narrow pipes.

Kula's stated dimensions (a column 3 meters high and 70 centimeters square) cannot be reconciled with van Pelt's claim that the holes, if they existed, were smaller than 70 cm square. Architectural drawings indicate that the distance from the floor to the ceiling (or underside of the roof) was 2.4 meters. The roof itself was 20 cm (.2 meters, or eight inches) thick. Kula's columns would have thus exceeded the distance from the floor to the top of the roof by an additional 40 cm (.4 meters, or 16 inches), and to the underside by an addi-

tional 60 cm (.6 meter, or 2 feet). Nor does Kula's testimony give any support to van Pelt's claim that only a fixed, narrow pipe, or column, continued through the roof.

In his efforts to demonstrate that once there were holes — small holes — in the roof, van Pelt proclaimed that survivor witness Henryk Tauber's testimony "converged" with Kula's descriptions. And indeed, despite various discrepancies, the two witness in fact converged on one vital point.

Tauber stated: "The sides of these pillars, which went up through the roof, were of heavy wire mesh." Tauber's description of the columns offers no support to van Pelt's contention that only "a rather narrow thing" of lesser dimensions continued through the roof. Tauber makes clear that the outermost layer of Kula's 70 cm squared wire pillars "went up through the roof," all the more so since he distinguishes in his testimony between the outer "heavy wire mesh" and inner grids of "finer mesh" and "very fine mesh."

That claim strengthens another argument against the smaller roof holes, based on the size of the columns as described by van Pelt's source, Kula. According to his testimony, he built the elaborately constructed columns, complete with "soldered tin corners," in the

camp metalwork shop — not in the *Leichenkeller*. Even if these 3 m tall, “heavy wire mesh” devices had been somehow maneuvered down the stairs and through the door into the *Leichenkeller*, they could not have been stood vertical from within a room with a 2.4 m high ceiling. Thus, if such columns existed, they can only have been installed by way of holes in the roof wide enough to admit them at the dimensions claimed for their base: 70 cm square.

Van Pelt, in searching for openings rather smaller than 70 centimeters square, has misrepresented the testimony of the two witnesses on whom he has staked his case (in the absence of any forensic or documentary evidence) for the existence of the holes. His radical distortion of the testimony of his key witnesses, conscious or not, would seem to suggest a motive: as we shall see below, if there had been openings of 70 cm (over two feet) square on the roof, they would be easily discernible even today. And, as we have already learned from van Pelt’s admission, the wire-mesh chimneys have disappeared, too.

Recent Investigations: The Holes ‘Rediscovered’?

Wartime Photographs. Van Pelt sought to corroborate his negligible testimonial evidence for the Zyklon holes through wartime photographs that show the roof of *Leichenkeller* 1 of Birkenau’s crematorium II. In his attempts to find images of the holes and their “chimneys” on photos taken on the ground and from the air, van Pelt ran up against the findings, not only of revisionist researchers, but also those of maverick Holocaust researcher Charles Provan. Provan has provided an in-depth analysis of the air and ground photos in his booklet *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller I of Krematorium II at Birkenau*, which contests the revisionist position. While Provan agrees with van Pelt that hundreds of thousands of Jews were gassed in *Leichenkeller* 1 of Crematorium II by Zyklon dropped through holes in the roof, his interpretation of the evidence for the existence of these holes is often diametrically opposed to van Pelt’s.

Ground Photos. Van Pelt points to a photo from the Auschwitz archives, taken in February 1943.¹⁸ It shows what appear to be objects on the roof. Provan has independently verified through a perspective drawing, however, what revisionist Germar Rudolf earlier established: the three objects are all on the southern half of the roof, contradicting the “eyewitnesses” and (as will be seen) the aerial photos.¹⁹

There exists, however, another ground photo, taken in late January 1943, which shows nothing but an eloquent blanket of snow on the completed roof of the *Leichenkeller*.²⁰ If, as van Pelt maintains, the holes had been included in the original concrete pour of the roof, it would have been senseless and potentially hazardous for the “chimney” surrounds to have been formed and poured appreciably later than the roof was completed. Aside from the inefficiency in construction technique, leaving the holes unprotected for weeks in winter would have caused massive waterproofing problems.²¹

Cross-examined by Irving about this picture, Van Pelt was quite unable to explain the absence of the holes and of their superstructures (or “chimneys”) that he identified in the February 1943 picture (above). At first, on January 26, van Pelt stated that the chimneys could not be seen because they were buried under earth and snow:

OK. Then the explanation is simple. What happens is that after the dirt was brought on top of the roof of the gas chamber or morgue No. 1, the protection [protrusion] would have been less. If we then had snow on top of that, it is very unlikely we would have seen much of these little chimneys.²²

Two days later, evidently recognizing his mistake, van Pelt changed his testimony. Realizing that the photo shows that there were only a few inches of snow on the roof, he stated that the holes would have been covered with boards, implying that the “introduction chimneys” had not yet been built in late January.²³ Van Pelt’s radical modification of his interpretation of this basic document, which must have been known to him, neither inspires confidence in his expertise nor in his claim that holes were made in the roof of *Leichenkeller* 1 of Crematorium II at the time it was constructed.

For Provan, on the other hand, this photo shows:

... the clearest view of the gas chamber in any of the three [Kamann photos], before the roof was covered with earth. The roof is covered with snow, and no vents for Zyklon B are visible. Since the picture is dated from January 20-22 1943, we can deduce that any holes for Zyklon B insertion must have been put in after that date.²⁴

That the Kamann ground photo of late January 1943 offers no evidence whatsoever for van Pelt’s unlikely hypothesis of invisible holes covered with similarly invisible boards, with the concrete chimneys yet



In this photograph of the ruins of the collapsed roof of the semi-underground morgue 1 of Birkenau Krema II, a concrete support pillar can be seen jutting through the roof. At the upper right, following a large crack in the roof, is a hole that is sometimes alleged to be an opening through which Zyklon was poured into the "gas chamber." In fact, the pillar was originally connected to the roof beam beneath the area at or near the hole, which was created in the violent blast when the morgue was blown up in 1945. Source: C. Provan, *No Holes?, No Holocaust?* (2000), p. 37.

to be added, is all too obvious. Provan is quite right to argue that the photo militates against the construction of holes and chimneys by the date it was taken, and to recognize that in fact the picture provides no evidence that the holes and chimneys were ever added. On the ground photos of the roof of the alleged gas chamber, then, we have anything but a convergence of interpretation of the evidence from these two researchers.

Air Photos. Van Pelt cited aerial reconnaissance photographs taken by the Allies in 1944, which were first published by the CIA in 1979. The most important of these, taken on August 25, 1944, shows four dark areas on the *Leichenkeller* roof. These areas, van Pelt argued, correspond to the chimneys over the holes, and their shadows.²⁵ Irving responded by pointing out that the four dark areas visible on the photo of August 25, 1944, do not match the positions of any holes in the ruins of the roof today. (As we have seen, van Pelt had conceded that the alleged Zyklon insertion holes cannot be found in those ruins.)

Provan's analysis of the air photos is consistent with that of revisionist researcher John Ball.²⁶ He notes that the necessary holes are said to have been covered "at ground level" (that is, above the layer of earth heaped onto the roof — not at roof level), and surrounded by

low covers, according to Myklos Nyiszli and other self-professed eyewitnesses. Yet, as Provan correctly observes, if these areas (he calls them "smudgey marks") on the air photos "are shadows [cast by the low chimneys], the height has been calculated as about 3 meters, using the known height of the Krematorium chimney, and the length of its shadow as a reference." (three meters is about nine feet, ten inches.) Indeed, Provan "agrees with Ball that some of the marks which show up on the August 25, 1944, reconnaissance photograph are in fact drawn in," and notes that "some of the photographs of Auschwitz-Birkenau show roof marks where no Zyklon B vents are supposed to be."²⁷

Provan fails, however, to alert his readers to the key problem, noted by Jean-Claude Pressac, posed by the marks on this and several other air photos:

According to the American aerial photograph of 24th August 1944, the four introduction points were located along a line running the length of the room in the EASTERN half. In the present ruins, two of these openings are still visible at the southern end but in the WESTERN half.

Nobody up to now seems to have been concerned by this contradiction, nor to have explained it.²⁸

According to van Pelt and Provan, basing themselves on Tauber's testimony, two of the holes should be located on the western half of the roof. As Pressac observes, however, this and the other air photos invariably display the four disputed marks on the *Leichenkeller* roof "along a line running the length of the room in the eastern half." Here one must recall Henryk Tauber's statement: "The roof of the gas chamber was supported by concrete pillars running down the middle of its length. *On either side of these pillars* [emphasis added] there were four others, two on each side."

If Tauber's testimony is correct, then the aerial photos should show two dots on each side of the longitudinal central support beam. But as Pressac has noted, the Tauber statement and the air photos contradict each other: the areas van Pelt identifies as holes on the air photos are staggered slightly, but are all on the east of the central support beam; Tauber testified that two were on the west side of the beam. The two sources of evidence do not converge.

Of the marks on the air photos, Provan writes: "No matter what one thinks of the authenticity of the smudgey marks, it is impossible to view them, whether authentic or not, as 'vents.'" Thus, in Provan's words, air

photos “cannot be used to prove or disprove that the underground rooms were gassing facilities.”²⁹ Van Pelt has been able to point to no evidence that contradicts Provan.

‘Genocide by Telepathy’ Revisited?

Having noted the absence of photographic evidence for the Zyklon roof holes, Provan makes an important concession. Regarding the value of the documentary and photographic evidence in Auschwitz and Allied records for demonstrating the holes, he writes: “[T]he eyewitness testimony concerning the underground gas chamber of Krema II is the main evidential basis for historians of the *Judenausrottung* (extermination of the Jews). The other forms of evidence used to support the eyewitness accounts of holes in the roof of the gas chamber are unable to supply proof that these Zyklon B introduction holes existed.”³⁰

While such findings might daunt a researcher of lesser persistence and imagination, Provan has discovered a rationale for the absence of the holes from the construction documents and photos: the need for secrecy that surrounded the Auschwitz gassing operation. Provan cites Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss, who testified at Nuremberg on April 1, 1946: “I immediately got in touch with the chief of a construction unit and told him that I needed a large crematorium. I told him that we were going to receive a large number of sick people, but I did not give him my real reason.”³¹

Provan suggests that Karl Bischoff, chief of construction projects at Auschwitz-Birkenau, was not told of the building’s “real purpose” until after the building’s completion, if ever. Provan believes this explains why the holes were broken through the roof only after the building was completed, in contradiction to van Pelt’s thesis.

Provan’s suggestion creates many problems in place of the single problem he is trying to solve. During the same interrogation cited by Provan, Höss claimed to have sent the plans for the gas chamber in *Leichenkeller* 1 of Crematorium II to Himmler “after we had completed our plans,” and “after I had changed them in accordance with the real purpose of his instructions,” whereupon “they were approved.” If Höss’s story about the holes, taken in its totality, is true, then new drawings, amended drawings and plans, and on-site specifications for new construction and alterations to planned facilities would have all been necessary. Putting holes in the roof of *Leichenkeller* 1 would have required con-

struction specifications outlined by and for the engineers, construction foremen, fabricators, and installers upon construction. These designations would also have been mentioned in numerous correspondences in the *Zentralbauleitung* (main construction office) files. They are not. Where are the drawings that were changed “in accordance with the real purposes of [Himmler’s] instructions”? And why not, in view of all the above, include the holes in the original construction of the roof? Formwork would have been constructed and placed differently, the placement of the rebar grids would have been modified to allow for holes and to compensate for loss of strength in the surrounding areas of the roof, and the support beam and columns would also require engineering modifications to compensate for loss of strength at the all-important slab-column junctures (with several tons of soil, snow, and rainwater also requiring careful engineering considerations).

Most importantly, the waterproof membrane would have required special attention and modification before holes and their alleged chimney surrounds could have been incorporated into the roof construction. Simply placing the membrane (bituminous felt) under the thin, permeable concrete topcoat and then through (what would later become) the edges of the holes would have been disastrous. And beyond that, the supposed wire mesh devices described by witnesses would have required extensive design and installation requirements.

Provan is mistaken in stating that the drawings to be consulted “would only include details for a crematorium, not a homicidal gassing facility.” How, for example, would secret drawings or plans for “wire mesh pillars” sent only to Himmler have been transmitted to Michal Kula in the metalwork shop months after these items had been deemed necessary? How could Kula have built these elaborate objects without such a drawing? Is this another example of what Robert Faurisson has called “genocide by telepathy”?³²

Here Provan is also at cross purposes with Pressac. The French researcher has labored through the Auschwitz records and at the Auschwitz sites to unearth, in the absence of hard evidence, supposed “criminal traces” of the gas chambers from bits of hardware, carpentry, and construction records. Much of Pressac’s work here has been embraced by van Pelt. As I have written elsewhere, however, the idea of recognizable criminal traces creates a big problem for Provan’s interpretation:

If the crematoria architects did not know what the “real” purpose of the building was, then all of the so-called “criminal traces” of Pressac, such as the alleged removal of the corpse chute [*sic*], the word “Vergasungskeller” appearing in a civilian firm’s worksheet, the design of the ventilation system, and all provisions for gas-tightness, etc., must then also have necessarily been understood by the architects as non-homicidal in purpose. If the holes were deliberately excluded from an alleged criminal conversion as a matter of secrecy, then no aspect of the alleged criminal conversion could have preceded the completion of the building’s construction. Either the building was adapted for criminal use prior to completion or it was not. If it was, there should be evidence of “Zyklon B holes” in the construction photographs [and drawings] of 1943, but there is not.³³

In Provan’s opinion, holes were subsequently “knocked” or “punched” through the solid concrete after the concrete roof was poured. He refers to the testimony of Rudolf Höss regarding the conversion of the *Leichenkeller* of Krematorium I at the Auschwitz main camp as evidence for an alleged homicidal conversion. However, the problem arises that Krematorium I was built and used as a morgue, and is alleged to have only later been converted for homicidal usage in 1941. Krematorium II was also supposedly designed for non-homicidal usage, but, according to van Pelt, was designated for homicidal adaptation in August 1942, more than 5 months prior to the concrete pour of the *Leichenkeller* roof.³⁴

To summarize, it would have made no sense to knock holes through a solidly poured concrete roof, or to build alleged chimney-surrounds for the wire mesh devices after the holes were created. Provan theorizes that the concrete was first poured, then some time later broken away where required, then poured again to create “chimneys.” These “chimneys” would have required special waterproofing at their bases, to keep the rainwater and melting snow of January–February 1943 from seeping through the holes. As has been noted above, all of this could have been accomplished in one operation by setting wooden formwork to create the necessary chimneys and apertures during the construction of the roof.

There is no evidence that any of this was done, just as there are no openings that would have accommodated the wire pillars described by Michal Kula.

In this context, Provan’s invocation of an ill-defined and improbable commitment to secrecy by Höss (is the commandant supposed to have jack-hammered the holes himself by moonlight?) as the warrant for otherwise unaccountably slipshod methods emerges as more rationale than explanation.

Provan’s Eyewitness Problem

In contrast to Van Pelt and other historians of Auschwitz, who have been content to rely on excerpts from a handful of testimonies, Provan has presented sixteen mostly contradictory witness statements on the alleged holes and their attributes. He attempts to reconcile these testimonies with investigations he conducted at the site, although oddly enough in *No Holes* he starts from the testimony, and then proceeds to his on-site investigation.

Provan discounts seven of the testimonies as “of lesser value,” deeming nine of them to be “of greater value.” It must be stated that his analysis of these testimonies is not always clear, and his criteria seem to have left ample room for circularity. While some of his testimonies of “lesser value” can be easily impeached (Janda Weiss’ claim that small children were thrown into the subterranean *Leichenkeller* through a non-existent window), others seem to be excluded for failing to match facts not yet established. Thus, Provan discounts the testimony of Filip Friedman because Friedman places the hollow pillars in the “four corners of the *Leichenkeller*, which is not true.”³⁵

Interestingly, Provan did not include the deposition of Michal Kula, who described 70 cm “wire mesh pillars,” in the testimony he analyses. He thus ignores one of van Pelt’s two star witnesses, although he has included witnesses that describe such oddities as Weiss’s non-existent “windows through which the Nazis could toss children,” the throwing of “gas bombs,” or what Provan calls “things impossible to see [from outside the crematorium].”³⁶ The reason for this omission seems obvious. Kula specifically stated that he constructed the “wire mesh pillars,” but the dimensions he gave (3 meters high x 70 cm squared) are impossible to reconcile with the absence of anything like holes of that size on the *Leichenkeller* roof, as the failed efforts of van Pelt and (as we shall see below) Provan abundantly demonstrate.

Having omitted Kula’s testimony, Provan considers the statement of Karl Schultze, a Topf employee who is said to have installed the ventilation system in *Leichenkeller* 1 on March 11–13, 1943, to be of great impor-

tance. In 1946, Schultze was asked about the "internal arrangement of the gas chamber." He described it as follows: "The building was eight meters wide and thirty meters long. Inside it was completely empty. The height came to 2.6 meters. In the ceiling were four square openings, 25 x 25 centimeters."³⁷

It must be noted that Schultze gave accurate outside dimensions for the building, which he could only have been gleaned from the architectural drawings (the inside dimensions were 7 meters wide and 2.4 meters in height), rather than personal observation. Provan seems unconcerned that Schultze's statement contradicts the claim that wire mesh pillars had been installed ("inside it was completely empty"). Nor does Schultze mention the alleged "concrete chimneys." These are remarkable omissions of observation, considering the lateness of the known dates on which the ventilation system was installed (mid-late February 1943).

Evidently what matters to Provan is that he has found a witness who gave dimensions for smaller holes (25 x 25 cm), holes that could possibly be shown to have existed in the roof.

The Holes Discovered?

We have established that Robert van Pelt has misread the Tauber and Kula descriptions of "wire mesh pillars," which actually strongly imply an outside dimension of 70 cm squared, a dimension that would have carried through the roof, as these devices are also described as "approximately 3 meters" high. We have established, on the evidence presented so far, that there are no holes of that dimension in the ruins of *Leichenkeller I* of crematorium II.

Unlike Van Pelt, Provan claims to have found the holes in the rubble. Are there smaller holes in the existing ruins of the roof? Yes. Are they problematic? Yes, but not for revisionists.

It is a physical certainty that *Leichenkeller I* was dynamited in 1945. The violence of that explosion tore a number of apertures and cracks in the roof slab. Since 1945, additional apertures have been created. For example, revisionists have written rather extensively of the two large manually created holes in the southwestern part of the roof, holes located in the wrong areas for them to have been a "Zyklon B introduction ports" to judge from the aerial photos and the "convergence" of van Pelt and Provan in accepting the testimony of Henryk Tauber. The rebar in these areas was either cut back or bent back, demonstrating that these holes are post-war constructs. One of these openings, located next to



A photo taken from underneath the collapsed roof of morgue 1 of Birkenau Krema II. No one contends that the hole at the upper left was ever an opening for pouring in Zyklon. Rather, this hole was created in the violent blast of the 1945 explosion that collapsed the roof. This photo shows that holes were created when the roof was blown up in 1945, in an explosion that also destroyed the roof beam below those areas. Note the dislodged rebar rods and the roof displacement near the top of the pillar. Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 353.



Ruins of the collapsed roof of semi-underground morgue (*Leichenkeller*) 1 of Birkenau crematory structure II. Contrary to the claims of "exterminationists," there are no credibly discernible "openings" through which Zyklon B could have been introduced through the roof into the morgue, an alleged mass extermination "gas chamber." Source: J.-C. Pressac, *Auschwitz* (1989), p. 265.

the first of seven support pillars, is simply an enlargement of a hole that was created when the building was dynamited. The rebar grid and cut rebar tips are visible in the present ruins. There is a crack emanating from the area where the concrete support pillar came to rest, one meter away, continuing through the hole to the other side. This crack would have made it easier for the Soviets or Polish Communists to chisel out the area after the war. Conversely, there is no indication that this hole existed prior to the pouring of the concrete roof. Finally, it is too large to have been a Zyklon B port of less than 1 ft. (i.e., 25 cm) square, and too small to have been 70cm square.³⁸

Running down the middle of the length of *Leichenkeller* 1 was a central support beam, 40cm in width and height. Seven concrete pillars were placed at even intervals beneath the length of this beam, 3.8 meters apart from center to center. This central support beam was extensively damaged by explosive charges placed in those areas in 1945. Provan has identified three areas, in immediate proximity to the central concrete support beam, as possible locations of Zyklon B holes. These areas of broken concrete are located next to the areas

where the first, third, and fifth concrete pillars were located.

Provan writes:

We consider it quite significant that [two holes] were located immediately to the east of the central roof column [beam], each of them right next to a supporting pillar (in these cases, pillars 3 and 5). It should be noted that the central column to the west of both holes is destroyed, with only the rebars remaining. The roof above the reinforcement bars is also destroyed in both locations.³⁹

The case for the number and location of the alleged Zyklon holes of Crematorium II, as well as for their existence, depends on testimony, as Provan acknowledged. At the Irving-Lipstadt trial, van Pelt presented a large number of documents to the court, in an attempt to validate the testimonial evidence. Judge Gray recognized "the force of many of Irving's comments upon some of those categories [of evidence]. He [Irving] is right to point out that the contemporaneous documents, such as drawings, plans, correspondence with contractors and the like, yield little clear evidence of the existence of gas chambers designed to kill humans". Gray also wrote that "the photographic evidence for the existence of chimneys protruding through the roof of morgue 1 at crematorium 2 is, I accept, hard to interpret."

The key witness, for both van Pelt and Provan, is Henryk Tauber. Tauber asserted that there were four holes, two west of the *Leichenkeller* central roof beam, and two east of it. The "smudges" or "dots" on the air photos are staggered, slightly zig-zagged. If Tauber's testimony and the air photo dots are to be accepted together, then the existing holes must traverse the longitudinal central support beam, with two on each side. Provan has identified two successive apertures, both east of the roof beam. As Pressac noted, however, the Tauber statement and the air photo features contradict each other insofar as the air photos show areas identified as holes staggering slightly only on the east side; Tauber claimed that two were on the west side of the beam. These two sources of evidence, as Pressac recognizes, do not "converge." Provan's on-site investigations have done nothing more than highlight this irreconcilable discrepancy. He has selected openings in the roof next to support pillars which are no different than another opening beside a pillar that cannot have been, on the basis of his evidence, the location of a "Zyklon B introduction port." Charles Provan, through his labors

on site at *Leichenkeller* 1, has also shown conclusively that “wire mesh pillars” of the dimensions (70cm square) described by Michal Kula and Henryk Tauber could not have existed, which is also a problem for van Pelt.

It is a pity that Provan seems not to have consulted Pressac’s 1989 book to corroborate the significance of his observations. There Pressac published a photo, which he took from inside the *Leichenkeller*, of the area surrounding the second support pillar.⁴⁰ No witness or researcher has suggested that a Zyklon B port was located here. Nor would it make sense to suggest that. Significantly, Pressac’s photo clearly shows the same characteristics that Provan observes at 1, 3, and 5. The concrete at the juncture of the supporting pillar and the central roof beam has been shattered by explosive charges. The roof has shifted to the east slightly, and a square hole has been created in the roof directly above and to the east of the pillar. Two pieces of rebar connect the hole to the support pillar. It is obvious that the square aperture in this area of the roof was created during the explosion, exactly as at pillars 3 and 5, and as at pillar 1 in the opposite direction (in the latter area, the roof shifted westward during the explosion). The roof lifted and settled, and the 20cm roof slab was broken apart, probably along rebar lines. There is no mystery here: the violent displacement of the roof created apertures.

Conclusion

On the matter of the missing roof holes of *Leichenkeller* 1 of Crematorium II, Justice Gray recognized that “Irving’s argument deserves to be taken seriously,” and that “in the end, the task for an historian is to weigh the evidence of the absence of the signs of holes in the roof of the morgue against the opposing evidence that there were chimneys running through the roof.”⁴¹

This paper is not merely the product of a gracious acceptance of Gray’s historical challenge, for it seeks not only to weigh the evidence for and against the presence of the holes, but also the manner in which advocates of the holes have advanced that evidence. We have demonstrated that at nearly every instance in their evaluation of the admittedly slender evidence for these critical openings, van Pelt, Provan, Pressac, and Shermer have differed among themselves on what they have found. Van Pelt has scoured the ruins of the crematorium roof, and found nothing. Provan has done likewise, and says he’s found the holes. While each claims smaller holes than testified to by the key witness, the

man who swore he manufactured the wire mesh pillars that went through the roof holes, van Pelt accepts his testimony, and then distorts it; Provan disregards it. Van Pelt claims that the holes were made when the roof was poured; Provan claims they were broken through weeks later. Van Pelt sees holes and chimneys in contemporaneous photographs where Provan sees none. Their colleague Pressac notes that aerial photos show the holes on a part of the roof at odds with van Pelt and Pressac’s witness testimony; Pressac, like van Pelt, misses that the marking on the air photo cannot show the chimneys or the holes. Shermer has tilted the photo so the holes will seem to be in line with the testimony favored by van Pelt and Provan.

It is Shermer who has made a mantra out of “convergence of evidence.” He found a willing echo from the Lipstadt expert in the London court. To survey the surreal divergence of these Holocaust savants in their diverse fumblings for the missing holes, as they warp and twist each bit of fact and fancy to substantiate the holes, is to understand that for them, at least, “convergence of evidence” stands for contrivance of evidence.

If Zyklon holes in the roof of *Leichenkeller* 1 had been there, as described by the most important witnesses within months after the capture of Auschwitz, indisputable evidence of their existence would still be discernible there today. But there is none, and the efforts of the most qualified exterminationist expert and the most diligent exterminationist amateur to account for the absence of that evidence, and of any contemporaneous evidence other than statements from a Soviet show trial and its successors, has produced nothing but a tragicomedy for the Holocaust industry. In fact, there were no Zyklon holes at Crematorium II of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and the absence of those humble openings leaves the Auschwitz myth as blasted as the concrete, and as contorted as this rebar, in the ruins of the morgue there today.

Notes

1. Steve Lipman, “Holocaust Denial Trial: Do We Care?,” *Jewish Week*, February 24, 2000. Deborah Lipstadt is the author of *Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory* (NY: Free Press, 1993). Penguin Books Ltd was the other principal defendant in Irving’s libel suit.
2. Transcript, *Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred Leuchter, Jr.*, 1999, a documentary film directed by Errol Morris.
3. Arthur Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* (Newport Beach, Cal.: Institute for Historical Review, 1993),

- p. 14.
4. The Hon. Justice Gray's Judgment on Tuesday 11th April 2000 in the High Court of Justice 1996 I. No. 113, Queen's Bench Division (David John Cawdell Irving vs. Penguin Books Limited & Deborah E. Lipstadt), Section 13.127. Available on-line at <http://www.fpp.co.uk/> (internet). Hereinafter: Judgement.
 5. Michael Shermer, "Proving the Holocaust," *Skeptic* 2, no.4, pp. 41-43. Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman, *Denying the Holocaust: Who Says the Holocaust Never Happened and Why Do They Say It?* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 31-35, 117-119, 133-137, and 249-251. Expert Opinion of Robert Jan van Pelt, D. Lit., Professor of Architecture at the University of Waterloo Ontario, Canada, on Instructions of Davenport Lyons and Mishcon de Reya, Solicitors, for the Purposes of Assisting the Queen's Bench Division in the High Court in London in the Case between David John Cawdell Irving, Plaintiff, and Penguin Books Limited and Deborah E. Lipstadt, Defendants (copyright 1999 by Robert Jan van Pelt), part four {cf. note 7, 9}, "Chapter VII: Auschwitz and Holocaust Denial," pp. 3-5. Hereinafter: van Pelt expert report. MS-Word document courtesy of David Irving.
 6. Judgement, Section 7.92.
 7. Van Pelt expert report, "Chapter IX, The Leuchter Report," p. 295. It should be noted that van Pelt, in the sentence quoted, properly distinguishes between the alleged wire mesh devices and chimneys; Justice Gray seems to have conflated them in the summary from his Judgement quoted above.
 8. In the High Court of Justice 1996 I. No. 113 Queen's Bench Division, Royal Courts of Justice, London. January 28, 2000. P-129, P-130. Hereinafter: Transcript.
 9. Van Pelt expert report, "Chapter IX, The Leuchter Report," p. 295. Also, see Judgement, 7.118:
The Defendants accept that the physical evidence remaining at the site of Auschwitz provides little evidence to support the claim that gas chambers were operated there for genocidal purposes. The explanation, according to the Defendants, is that, after the revelations in the Allied media concerning the gas chambers at the camp at Majdanek in late 1944, Himmler ordered the dismantling of the extermination installations in the crematoria at Auschwitz.
 10. "Gas Chambers Did Not Exist — Historian," BBC online, January 26, 2000. http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/uk/newsid_619000/619619.stm. The BBC's report is a close paraphrase of Irving's remarks in Transcript, January 25, 2000. P-187.
 11. Charles D. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller 1 of Krematorium 2 at Birkenau* (Monongahela, Penn., 2000), pp. 24-31. Also on-line at: <http://www.revisingrevisionism.com/>
 12. Transcript, January 26, 2000. P-84. "Sonderkommando" (special detail) designated, among other units, the prisoner contingents which worked in the crematoria.
 13. Van Pelt expert report, "Chapter IV, Attestations 1945-46," p. 44.
 14. Ibid, p. 45.
 15. Ibid.
 16. Transcript, January 25, 2000. P-181, P-182.
 17. Pressac, Jean-Claude, *Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1989), p. 487.
 18. Transcript, January 26, 2000. P-6-16.
 19. PMO [Auschwitz State Museum] neg. no. 20995/494, Kamann series. Published in Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, p. 340. See also Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp. 17-18, and Ernst Gauss (Germar Rudolf), ed., *Dissecting the Holocaust* (Capshaw, Ala: Theses and Dissertation Press 2000, p. 346-347. As Rudolf suggests, the three objects on the roof may have been construction materials.
 20. PMO neg. 20995/506 Kamann series. In Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, p. 335. See also Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp. 18-19. Also on-line at <http://www.air-photo.com/>
 21. "We know that the modifications, at least from the plan we saw there, the modifications of the design were decided — I mean certainly for the hanging of the door in that new staircase was in December the building had been — that the genocidal programme in Auschwitz had been adopted in August, the roof was probably being finished in December, so there was no reason to hack through the roof. They could immediately have made the holes in the roof as they were constructing it." (Irving-Lipstadt Trial transcript, Day 11, PP-127-128.) Van Pelt refers to the Auschwitz Zentralbauleitung drawing 2003 of December 19, 1942, Auschwitz State Museum, box BW (B) 30/2, file BW 30/12, in Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* (NY: Norton, 1996), plate 17. Van Pelt, Pressac, and Gerald Fleming have argued that the apparent elimination of the corpse chute indicates (only) live bodies walking into the basement rooms, a poor analysis, suggesting the victims of "natural death" could not have been brought into the underground morgues. Interestingly, the only material features noted for the entire basement section (Kellergeschoß) are the subject of the drawing itself, i.e. the basement entrance on the streetside (Verlegung des Kellerzuganges an die Strassenseite), and the elevator (Aufzug). There are many subsequent construction drawings from 1943 showing the inclusion of the corpse chute and other basement details. See Auschwitz 1270 to the Present: Critical notes by Carlo Mattogno (note 11) at: <http://www.russgranata.com/irving-eng.html> (internet).
 22. Transcript, January 26, P-17
 23. Transcript, January 28, P-109-113.
 24. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, p. 18.
 25. Transcript, January 26, P-27.

26. John C. Ball, *Air Photo Evidence* (Toronto: Samisdat, 1994). See also <http://www.air-photo.com/>
27. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp. 13, 14. Provan attributes the alteration of the photo evidence to a benign didacticism on the part of the CIA authors, one of whom was an expert of faked photography during his career with the agency.
28. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, p. 436.
29. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, pp. 13, 30.
30. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
31. Ibid., p. 15. Provan's allegation contradicts Dwork and van Pelt, *Auschwitz*, p. 316: "Himmler ordered the expansion of Auschwitz-Birkenau to 200,000 inmates and instructed Eichmann to fill the camp with Jews capable of work." (Based on a plan of 15 August 1942, Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, box BW (B) 2/1, file BW 2/10). Also, "Bischoff drew up a master plan for the transformation of Auschwitz-Birkenau into a 200,000 inmate labor pool for the armaments industry," ibid., p. 321.
32. Robert Faurisson, "Genocide by Telepathy, Hilberg Explains," JHR 18, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1999).
33. Brian Renk, "Additional Comments on the Provan booklet *No Holes? No Holocaust? A Study of the Holes in the Roof of Leichenkeller I of Krematorium II at Birkenau*" at: <http://www.codoh.com/gcgv/gcgvholes2.html>. For a brilliant analysis of Pressac's "criminal traces," see Robert Faurisson, "Auschwitz: Technique and Operation of the Gas Chambers (part 1)," JHR 11, no. 1 (spring 1991), pp. 46-59.
34. Renk, "Additional Comments."
35. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, p. 10.
36. Ibid., p. 10
37. Ibid., p. 4. From *Der Spiegel*, no. 40, 1993, p. 162 ("Protokolle des Todes").
38. Provan, *No Holes? No Holocaust?*, appended photographs. Also at <http://www.revisingrevisionism.com/>
39. Ibid., p. 29.
40. Pressac, *Auschwitz: Technique*, pp. 353.
41. Judgement, 13.83.

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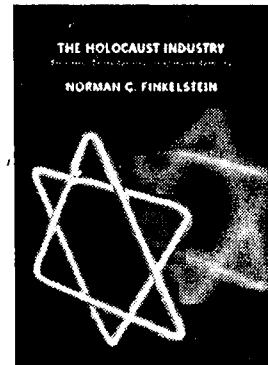
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An Imaginary Holocaust May Lead to a Real Holocaust

ROBERT FAURISSON

WITHOUT THE LIE OF THE ALLEGED HOLOCAUST and the alleged gas chambers, the State of Israel would not exist, and the world would be a more peaceful place. The false Holocaust has become the sword and the shield of Israel, endangering peace. An imaginary holocaust, invented and nurtured by the Zionists of Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora, may lead to an actual, global holocaust.

The Jews and the Americans

In 1947-1948, representing themselves as the survivors of an alleged genocide, the Jews obtained, by blackmail and terrorism, the right to create a state in the land of Palestine. Nonchalantly, they persuaded the international community that, in compensation for an unprecedented tragedy (their supposed "Holocaust"), they merited an unprecedented remedy: the award of lands belonging to other peoples. After receiving this exorbitant gift, they enlarged their territory considerably in chronic wars, paying no heed to the restrictions instituted by the United Nations to protect the Palestinians, restrictions which the Zionists had made a commitment to respect. For over fifty years, with the help of

the Jewish Diaspora, they have carried out a colonial policy of conquest and apartheid against the Palestinian people. The Zionists have violated one international agreement after another, treating some sixty UN resolutions against their practices as null and void. America's political leaders have supported, armed, and defended Israel as devotedly as if it were the foremost state of the United States of America. It must be said that they cannot afford to defy the Jewish lobby, which closely monitors all their country's political and media spheres. Nonetheless, most Americans, intoxicated by the holocaust propaganda, are all too ready to derive their own belief in a world divided into two groups — one good (Jews and their associates), the other evil (Nazis and their ilk) — from the inventions of a Jewish neurosis. For these Americans, the Nazi, supreme villain, ever bent on killing the poor Jew, paragon of innocence and virtue, is the measure of all things. It is not mere coincidence that the ghastly hulk which houses the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum stands in the immediate proximity of the Washington Monument, not far from Capitol Hill.

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, educated at the Sorbonne, Professor Faurisson taught at the University of Lyon from 1974 until 1990. Specializing in close textual analysis, Faurisson won widespread acclaim for his studies of poems by Rimbaud and Lautréamont. After years of private research and study, Faurisson revealed his skepticism of the "Holocaust" gas chambers in articles published in 1978 and 1979 in the French daily *Le Monde*. He has written numerous articles on all aspects of the "Holocaust," many of which have appeared in this journal. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes* (1974-1998), was published in 1999.



Robert Faurisson addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 29, 2001.

The Arabs and the Muslims

The Jews have finally exhausted the patience of the Arab and Muslim world. During their long history they had, down the centuries, worn out their welcome with every European nation which had admitted them in large numbers, in particular the English, the French, the Spanish, and, especially, the Germans and the Poles. Until rather recently the example of the long-standing (relative) tolerance of the Arabs toward the Jews served as fodder for morality lessons regularly addressed to European nations. Today, such lessons are no longer possible. The Arab exception is no more: even their fellow Semites are now rising against the Jewish people, "domineering and self-assured" (as Charles de Gaulle called them in 1967). To be sure, within the Jewish community there have occasionally been efforts on the part of a few clear-sighted spirits such as Noam Chomsky and the late Israel Shahak, author of *Jewish History, Jewish Religion*, to warn the zealots, but these have gone unheard. That said, Chomsky, like Shahak, has always endorsed the great Jewish myth, thus authorizing Israel to continue to employ, with an untroubled conscience, its best argument and the number one weapon in its arsenal: the "Holocaust," of course. The Arabs, the Muslims, and the entire Palestinian people are today the principal victims of this weapon and this argument fashioned from a lie.

The New Crusade

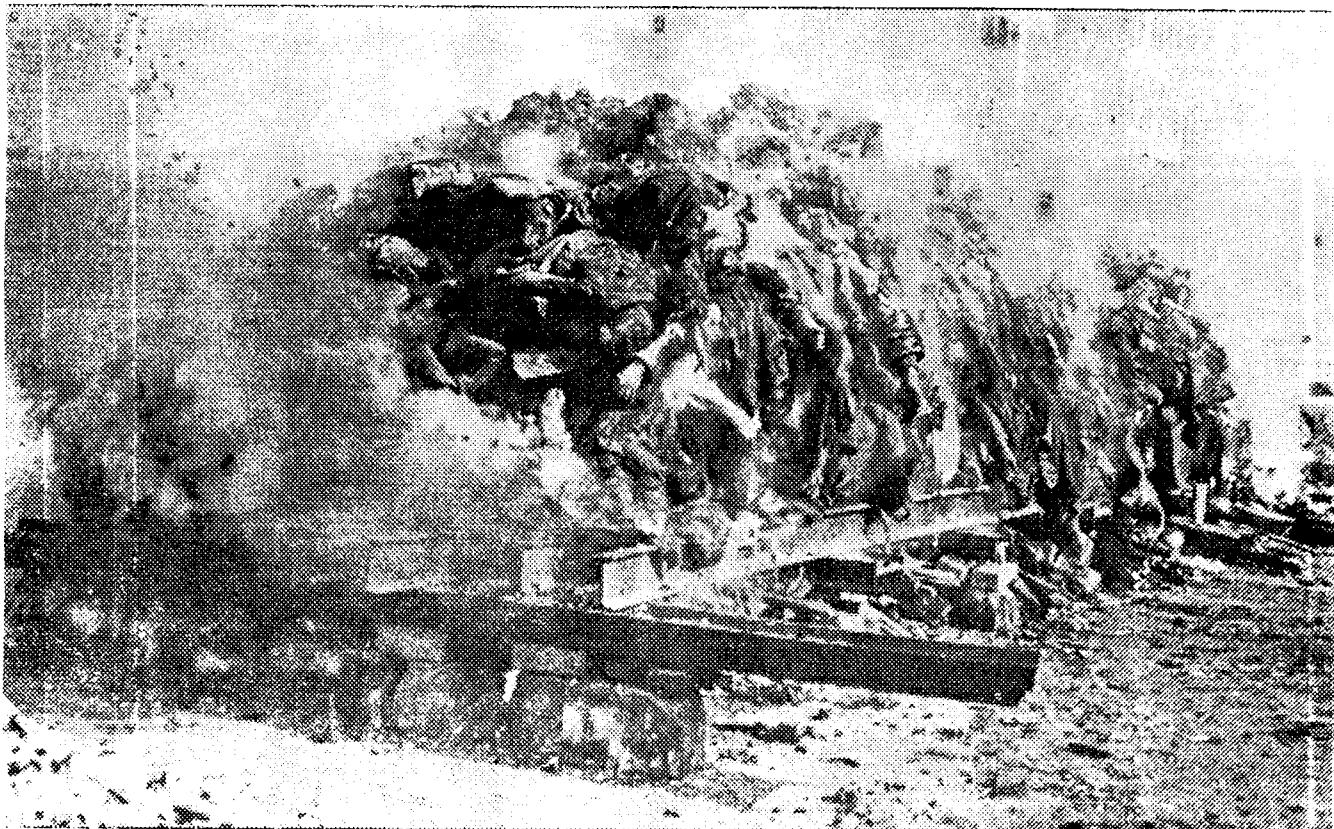
On September 11, 2001, the weak struck at the citadel of the mighty, in New York. The heart of Jewish-American power, the financial district centered on Wall Street, where the fortunes of the world's lowly billions are daily decided, was hit by the full force of "terrorists" brave enough to sacrifice their lives in a suicide mission.

On that day in New York, the first tower of the World Trade Center (a name that meant business!) might have been called "Hamburg" or "Hiroshima," the second "Dresden" or "Nagasaki." Yet, their destruction seems to have left, by various estimates, no more than between three and five thousand dead — a far cry from the great feats of annihilation of the U.S. and British air forces in the early 1940s.

In response America has embarked on another crusade. In the 1940s, General Dwight Eisenhower (who would later be rewarded with the presidency) launched a "Crusade in Europe," a military-industrial undertaking which was to prove most fruitful for the United States ("The Best War Ever") but quite the opposite for the peoples of Europe: for them it meant millions of dead, immense destruction, and the consignment of a good part of their continent to the Soviet Russian Moloch. This "liberation" of Europe, moreover, brought in its wake a cruel political purge, the murderous expulsion of twelve to fifteen million Germans, arbitrary dragnets and roundups, the dismemberment of a great country, its complete military occupation, a regime of censorship, and the imposition of tribunals in which the victors, as judges and prosecutors both, tried the vanquished in patently sham proceedings. Today, in 2001, trials of the same kind allow the children of Israel to exact vengeance on octogenarians or nonagenarians accused, on the strength of Jewish testimony alone, of "crimes against humanity."

The Previous Crusades

In reaction to the attacks of September 11, America, this time, is out for "infinite justice," by slaughtering civilians for the twentieth time in sixty years. From 1941 to 2001, no military corps has killed or burnt more civilians, more children, and more infants than the air armada consisting of the U.S. Air Force and the squadrons of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, sometimes seconded by their ally, the RAF. The knights-errant of phosphorus, napalm, Agent Orange, fragmentation bombs, nuclear fire, and uranium (enriched or depleted) are about to inflict their time-



On makeshift pyres of steel girders, heaped bodies of victims of the Dresden air raid were cremated in large bonfires. Some two thousand British and American bombers took part in the devastating attack, February 13-14, 1945. So intense was the heat of the firestorm created in the raid that molten asphalt flowed through the streets. Conservative estimates put the number of victims at 135,000 — the great majority of them civilians. According to some estimates as many as 300,000 perished in the raid. At the time of the attack Dresden was packed with hundreds of thousands of women and children fleeing advancing Soviet forces. One of Europe's great cultural and architectural treasures, the German city had no importance as a military target. Terrorism and mass killing were the sole objectives of the Dresden attack, which British diplomat and author Harold Nicolson called "the single greatest holocaust by war."

honored lessons in international law, justice, virtue, and "enduring freedom" on desperately poor lands, as they have done to Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, and to Europe at large (67,000 killed in the "liberation" of France alone), as well as to Japan, Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada, Panama, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere. In just sixty years the Americans, who are also the world's biggest industrial polluters, have battered the Earth's surface with billions of bombs, shells, missiles, and mines, especially anti-personnel mines, so dangerous to civilians. Concerned about the lives of their own soldiers — which is understandable — the U.S. armed forces usually opt for a particularly cowardly method of combat. Dropping bombs at high altitude, launching missiles from a great distance, spreading terror among unarmed civilian popu-

lations, the American military has for some years sought a zero-death war, which, as French revisionist Vincent Reynouard puts it, amounts to waging wars in which, on one side, the death toll is zero, or close to it, while the dead of the other side count for ... nothing. Comfortably ensconced on their aircraft carriers or on bases well behind the front, the boys, inhaling their snacks and downing their beer, rain down death and destruction from afar.

The Real Holocaust of the German Cities

Beside the martyrdom of the German cities in the last war, the fate of those who fled Manhattan after the destruction of the two towers was enviable. They escaped the scene of the disaster without being strafed

with machine gun bullets. Unlike so many Germans from 1942 to 1945 — starved, sleepless, grief-stricken day by day by news of the deaths of their brothers and husbands, above all on the Russian front — the refugees from Manhattan were not turned into human torches targeted by fighter-bombers. The victims of the carpet bombings often fled with their hair and their clothing in flames. They would dive into water to extinguish the flames, which would die down, only to flare up anew when the poor souls came up for air: phosphorus. The last to die in the firestorm perished from heat so intense it blistered the roofs of their mouths. As for the firemen and first-aid workers, many of them were killed by delayed-action bombs.

The Futile Lessons of the Past

In this Black September, Americans were able to get an idea — though only a small one — of what they have inflicted on so many countries over so many years. In Vietnam they suffered a humiliating defeat, and brought home 56,000 bodybags. They seemed to have learned what it might cost to scorn those smaller, weaker, and poorer than themselves. France and Britain had experienced identical humiliations during the collapse of their colonial empires; they also appeared to have learned some useful lessons. Now, however, the United States, Britain, and France, all seized by martial frenzy, are forgetting the lessons from their recent histories.

Terrorism Magnified by Those Who Complain of It

It is a bit ludicrous to see the mighty denounce the terrorism of their adversaries. Not only did these same mighty invent terrorism on the grand scale, they promoted it, praised it, and sublimated it, under the term “resistance.” Roosevelt, Churchill, de Gaulle, Tito, and their friend Stalin all, in varying degrees, made the ambush murder of enemy soldiers and civilians their policy. In this way these leaders cold-bloodedly provoked reprisals by the enemy, carried out in conformance with international conventions, so that slaughter would breed slaughter. Thereby the Allies made covert warfare, the coward’s war, a fixture of the twentieth century. Assuredly the spirit of resistance is a noble one, but not in that form. And what is to be said of the terrorism practised by the founders of the Zionist state, who murdered, for example, Lord Moyne, Count Bernadotte, and so many others? A model, it would seem, for struggle in a just cause.



Madeleine Albright directed American foreign policy as President Clinton's Secretary of State, 1996-2001. A few months before being named to that post, she was questioned about the deaths of hundreds of thousands of children in Iraq due to the scarcity of food and medicine as a result of sanctions against the country imposed by the United States since 1990. In a "60 Minutes" interview, broadcast May 12, 1996, veteran CBS reporter Lesley Stahl asked: "We have heard that half a million children have died [as a result of the sanctions]. I mean, that is more children than died in Hiroshima. And — and you know, is the price worth it?" Albright replied: "I think this is a very hard choice, but the price — we think the price is worth it."

The Luck of the Jews

The twin office towers in New York were under long-term lease to one Larry Silverstein, who will doubtless get fat “reparations.” His coreligionist Madeleine Albright, daughter of a thief named Körbel, stated in 1996 that even if American policy toward Iraq had caused the deaths of half a million Iraqi children, “the price ... was worth it.” The Israeli Netanyahu could not hide his joy on learning of the destruction of the

towers and the deaths of thousands of Americans: it was good news for the Jews, because America would now understand that its own interests and those of Israel were identical. Sharon, the butcher and incendiary, along with Shimon Peres, saw in it an opportunity both for his policy of planting Jewish settlements amidst the Arab masses and for his program of systematic assassination. For the nonce, the United States lets him kill Palestinian adults and children at will, with bullets, shells, missiles, tanks, helicopters, and planes paid for by the American taxpayer.

Hard Luck Ahead for the Jews

The Americans and Israelis can have their sport. It may cost them dearly, however, for the State of Israel is doomed. It won't last even as long as the ephemeral Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. A bin Laden or a second Saladin won't be needed. Not weapons, not money, not the United States, nor the Jews of the Diaspora, nor Germany which, prey to its national masochism, would be capable of sacrificing its soldiers for the survival of the leech state, will stop "the Descent" (as the Hebrews call Jewish emigration from Israel, as opposed to "their Ascent" to the Promised Land). For the Israelis are already jumping ship. In Tel Aviv, in Jerusalem, in the settlements, Jewish fathers and mothers fear for their own lives and for those of their children, for their careers, for their businesses. The tax burden imposed by Israel's military budget, and the length and the dangers of military service (for both men and women), are decreasing the numbers of taxpayers and potential recruits, by way of the phenomenon of "re-emigration." The Promised Land is becoming the most hazardous spot on earth for Jews. It had been a safe haven for swindlers and thieves, in particular for that mafia called "Russian," which is in fact Judeo-Russian. Israel has granted extradition requests from countries attempting to prosecute Flatto Sharon and similar crooks only very rarely. Today, however, French courts are finding, in cases connected with the gigantic bank swindle known as the "affaire du Sentier," that brazen crooks who had fled France for refuge in Israel prefer to return, even if it means going to prison. The land of milk and honey is awash in blood and tears. Whose fault is that?

Between the Suitcase and the Coffin

So the wandering Jew is about to hit the road again. In nearly every place he has sojourned, his conduct has aroused the revolt of the host population, which has

finally ordered him to choose between the suitcase and the coffin. In today's Israel, he will soon have need to pack his suitcase. He will make his way back to the rich lands that have been brainwashed by his holocaustic propaganda. Bewailing a second "Holocaust" and a third Destruction of the Temple will suffice: then he'll demand new reparations, new privileges. The Shoah business and Holocaust industry will renew their vigor, this time, however, at risk of reaching the saturation point.

In a worst-case scenario, Israel may experience a civil war waged by an underground army of desperados. In the end, Tel Aviv could suffer the fate of Algiers in 1962, and Jewish Jerusalem go down like Saigon in 1975. A less dramatic fall, similar to that of communist East Germany or of the Soviet empire, is also possible. In any case, the epicenter of the present conflict is Israel, and Israel is finished.

War Propaganda

The lot of Palestinians of all faiths will be tragic, provoking ever more despair and fanaticism. The masses of the Arab-Muslim countries already hope to see the West punished for the crimes which, in their view, it has committed or tolerated, in Palestine (more so than for its misdeeds in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, or Afghanistan). A spirit of jihad, or holy war, is growing among these masses, as well. Aya-Torahs and ayatollahs incite one another. On both sides, in the rich and powerful West and among the deprived populations of the Arab-Muslim world, passions and fears are intensifying. There is going to be a great deal of killing and a great deal of lying. The prodigious lie of the alleged "Holocaust" of the Jews, sword and shield of Israel and the Diaspora, could thus lead to a real holocaust of global dimensions. Revisionist authors have long warned that the religion of the false "Holocaust," with its imaginary "gas chambers" and its alleged "Six Million," carried within it a frightful catalyst for hatred. Contemporary events give cause for fear that this hatred will culminate in setting the planet ablaze and provoking a worldwide holocaust.

Revisionist Carefulness

The revisionists will follow the example set by Paul Rassinier, the first revisionist. Proof against all war propaganda, they will aim for exactitude even as emotions on both sides are breeding lies. They will refuse to spread the inventions of anti-American, anti-Jewish, or

anti-Arab propaganda. As for September 11, they are duty-bound to spare us such typical conspiratorial scuttlebutt as "Bush knew," "The CIA must have known," "The FBI was in on it," "It was all a Mossad plot," "Four thousand Jews didn't show up for work that day," "Explosives had been planted in both buildings," etc. Arab propaganda will harp more than ever on the myths of Jewish ritual murder or Jews poisoning gentiles' wells, and it will invoke that patent forgery, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Many more rumors, delusions, lunacies, and examples of mass delusion are to be anticipated. The Americans will underestimate the numbers of victims of their bombings and the Afghans will exaggerate them. God or Jehovah, on one side, and Allah on the other, will, together with their prophets, be called upon to incite hatred and fear. False witnesses, false reports, false interviews, and fake documents will proliferate. In this field Bush the son will perhaps surpass Bush the father's story of the incubators unplugged by the Iraqis in Kuwait. Censorship, of course, will increase without governments even having to pass new laws.

The Holy Alliance of the Mighty

In France, the daily *Le Monde*, which I call the "oblique journal," made its obeisance at the outset. Under the by-line of its editor, the hunched, sweaty-palmed Jean-Marie Colombani, its lead was headlined "We Are All Americans." With that, France found itself in a state of war. It is a tradition dear to the left (which, as everyone knows, has a monopoly on warm-heartedness and intelligence) to plunge the country into war without prior consultation of Parliament, nor any decision on the latter's part. This amounts to a total disregard for the law, for the constitution, but no matter! It allows the French citizen to go to sleep at peace and to wake up to war. To be fair, let us remember that the president, Jacques Chirac, a former Communist turned Gaullist, feels even more bellicose and American than his prime minister, Lionel Jospin, the head of a Socialist-Communist-Green coalition. A kind of holy alliance has been forged against the turbaned pariah from whence all the evil: Osama bin Laden, to call him by name. Once upon a time, his name was Adolf Hitler. Did he not commit an unforgivable crime by meddling with gold, the Jews, and Communism? He had had the effrontery to reject the gold standard. He did so well without it that his new economic system enabled him to trade on a large scale with other gold-poor countries, notably Italy, Japan, and certain central European and



David Ben-Gurion, in the foreground, at the ceremony in Tel Aviv on May 14, 1948, at which he and other Zionist leaders proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel. Ben-Gurion (1886-1973) served as Israel's first prime minister, 1948-1953, and again from 1955 to 1963. During a conversation in 1956 with Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress, he said:

"Why should the Arabs make peace? If I were an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural; we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs. We come from Israel, it's true, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we have come here and stolen their country. Why should they accept that?"

Source: Nahum Goldmann, *The Jewish Paradox* (New York: 1978), p. 99.

Latin American states. Britain, France, and the United States were panic-stricken: Germany was encroaching on their turf, taking away their markets. The rich (in gold) never appreciate the revolt, the coalition, and the success of the poor (in gold). At the end of the 1930s, the three wealthy nations, which claimed to share the same democratic system, were, more than anything, bound, one to the other, by a chain of gold. After the war, in 1947, L. Genet and Victor-L. Tapié were able to publish, in their *Précis d'histoire contemporaine, 1919-1939* (Paris: Hatier), a quotation which would read in English: "It is thus not an ideological link but a chain of gold that bound the great democracies to one another" (p. 206); they added: "Six years of self-sufficiency made Germany the world's greatest industrial country" (p. 209). The Jewish financiers took even more umbrage than the rest: How could anyone get along without them and their gold?! As for Communist Russia, it watched Hitler put into actual practice the social program of which the Soviets dreamed. The rash dictator was to pay a high price for his temerity — all the higher since he began to push his luck with the recklessness of a gambler on a roll. Then came the catastrophe, for Europe and for Asia, of the Second World War.

Today's new holy alliance of the Western democracies and Russia against the new spoilsport augurs ill for tomorrow. Beneath the usual veneer of generosity and unselfishness, the United States will deal ruthlessly with the Arab-Muslim masses, who might threaten Uncle Sam's supplies of natural resources, his "World Trade," and his economy. Invoking their cherished "Holocaust" and the need to avoid a second "Holocaust," the Jews will be just as ruthless to the Palestinians. The Russians will crush any notions of independence among their Muslim minorities — and Russia already has its hand out for American alms in recompense.

The Only Chance for Peace

The only chance for peace lies in the spirit of resistance to the propagandists' lies. Today the most dangerous propaganda does not come from the poor. It comes from the rich and powerful, and their hirelings, all of whom are capable, if they feel truly threatened, of setting the whole world afire. The most dangerous propaganda comes from the neurotics with their false "Holocaust": the Jews, the Americans, and their minions.

Had the revisionists been heeded, the religion of the false "Holocaust" of the Jews would no longer prosper, nor still be feeding the sympathy of a large part of the Western world for the Zionist enterprise. The Diaspora

would display less arrogance. To begin with, the State of Israel would not exist.

Historical lies breed hatred, a crusading zeal, and war. A return to historical exactitude would promote reflection and peace.

— October 8, 2001

Where are the Missing 'Six Million'? If Hitler Didn't Kill Europe's Jews, What Happened to Them?

In this masterly, unprecedented and, so far, unique demographic study, a qualified specialist shows what happened to Europe's Jews under Hitler and during the Second World War. *The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry* provides the best accounting available of the actual fate of the "Six Million."

Carefully analyzes the (often fragmentary) census data and the extraordinary population displacements that occurred before, during and after the war, which involved great migrations and deportations of Jewish refugees into Soviet Russia and Ukraine, North and South America, and Palestine.

This study establishes that there never were "six million" Jews under German control at any time. It shows, for example, that the great majority of Jews in the Soviet territories occupied by the Germans, 1941-1944, and who are widely assumed to have perished as "victims of the Holocaust," were actually evacuated or fled — and never came under German rule.

Based on a wide range of sources, including publications of the Institute for Jewish Affairs and such reference works as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *American Jewish Year Book*, as well as contemporary European periodicals and wartime German documents.

In his foreword, Northwestern University Prof. Arthur R. Butz calls this "the first full length serious study of World War II-related Jewish population changes ... This book presents the fundamentally correct account of the subject. The perfect antidote to the vulgar idiocies that are today monotonously peddled by the media ..."

The Dissolution of Eastern European Jewry by Walter N. Sanning

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Revising the Twentieth Century's 'Perfect Storm': Russian and German Historians Debate Barbarossa and Its Aftermath

REVIEWED BY DANIEL MICHAELS

Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia by Gabriel Gorodetsky. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. 408 pages.

Samoubiystvo (Suicide) by Viktor Suvorov. Moscow: AST, 2000. 380 pages. Illustrations.

Upushchenny shans Stalina (Stalin's Lost Opportunity) by Mikhail Meltiukhov. Moscow: Veche, 2000. 605 pages. Illustrations, maps.

Stalin's War of Extermination, 1941-45: Planning Realization, and Documentation by Joachim Hoffmann. Capshaw, Ala.: Theses and Dissertations Press, 2001. 415 pages. Illustrations.

Revising the history of the Second World War's crucial Russo-German campaign is very much a work in progress, nowhere more so than in Russia and Germany. Ever since Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun) broke the ice a decade ago with his sensational *Ledokol* (published in English as *Icebreaker* [reviewed in the *Journal of Historical Review* 16, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1997)]), Russian historians have been reexamining the many myths, legends, and fantasies associated with the outbreak of the death duel between Communism and National Socialism. The role of Joseph Stalin, in particular, has aroused the most heated controversy.

In Russia, the debate has involved two major groups. The first asserts that the Soviet Union had no aggressive designs against Germany or Europe and was unprepared for war, while the second maintains that Stalin and the Red Army indeed had plans for a surprise attack against Germany and Europe, but were beaten to the punch by Hitler.

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954) and a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957). Now retired after 40 years of service with the U.S. Department of Defense, he writes from his home in Washington, DC.

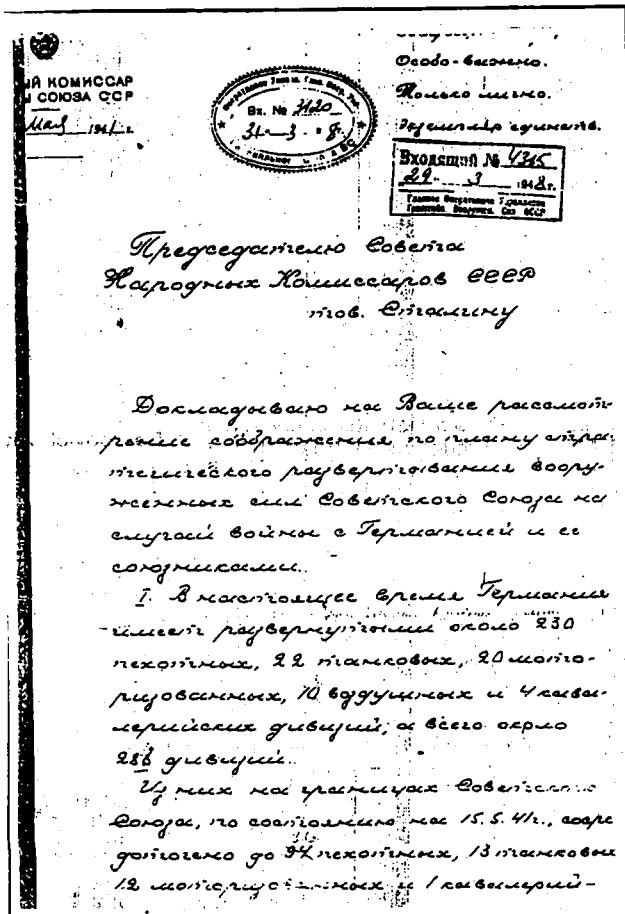


Stalin with his most trusted military advisor, Boris Shaposhnikov. Together they worked out a two-year mobilization plan that was to culminate in an attack against Germany in the summer of 1941 that would bring Europe under Soviet control.

Contending Factions

To the first group have belonged such notables as the late Marshal Georgi Zhukov, journalist Lev Bezymenski (also professor at the Academy of Military Sciences), General M. A. Gareyev, V. A. Anfilov, and Yu. A. Gorkov. This group, in general, also contends that Stalin had decapitated the Red Army by purging many high-ranking officers just before the war; that he was too trusting of Hitler, wrongly believing that the Führer would never deliberately initiate a two-front war; and that Stalin was the cause of Communism's failure. These views are shared by many, regardless of political leanings.

An Israeli, Gabriel Gorodetsky, much ballyhooed in the English-speaking world, also fits in this company. Gorodetsky is a colleague of Lev Bezymenski, as he was of the late General Dmitri Volkogonov. Gorodetsky, Suvorov contends, has been granted unparalleled access to selected archives of the Russian Foreign Min-



First page of the May 1941 top secret Soviet memorandum, shown here in facsimile (reduced), which lays out strategy for a military first strike against Germany and her allies. Using such terms as "a sudden strike," "preempt," and "offensive" war, it called for a lightning attack against East Prussia, Poland, Silesia and the Czech lands, thereby cutting Germany off from the Balkans and the Romanian oil fields, and a second military thrust directed against Romania. Hand-written in black ink, this document was prepared by Soviet general Vasilevski, and signed by Soviet General Staff chief Zhukov and Soviet defense commissar Timoshenko. It was submitted to Stalin on May 15, 1941.

istry, the General Staff, the NKVD, the GRU, and other records usually closed to researchers, above all revisionists, who might probe too deeply. For this reason Suvorov suspects Gorodetsky of being a conduit for information that the Russian government chooses to have disseminated.

To the second group belong military historians such as Viktor Suvorov, Mikhail Meltiukhov, V. A. Nevezhin,

V. D. Danilov, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, as well as several Germans (Joachim Hoffmann, Wolfgang Strauss, Fritz Becker) and Austrians (Heinz Magenheimer, Ernst Topitsch). (See review of Topitsch's *Stalin's War* in JHR 8, no. 2 [summer 1988]). They argue that Stalin trusted no one, least of all Hitler; that Stalin had, together with Marshal Zhukov, devised his own plan for a surprise offensive against Germany, with the ultimate goal of establishing Communism in Europe; and that it was the USSR, not Germany, which was better prepared for war. Suvorov has also argued that Stalin's purges actually improved the Red Army, by ridding it of the heavy-handed political commissars, most of whom were Trotskyite thugs despised by the people. As is well known, many of Trotsky's followers were his fellow Jews, often foreign born rather than native to Russia.

The American historians Richard Raack and R. H. S. Stolfi (see review in JHR 15, no. 6 [Nov.-Dec. 1995]) have joined the debate, lending it a worldwide dimension. Professor Raack in particular has reinforced the arguments of the Suvorov group, writing that "in fact the discussion is now international ... the genie of truth is out of the bottle."

The first group has been taxed with harboring Stalinist apologists for the old Soviet Establishment, the second of seeking to justify Hitler's German invasion. Polemics aside, the historiographical roots of the division are manifest in the reliance of the first group on the Soviet political literature to substantiate its arguments, as opposed to the second group's reliance on historical analysis based on military science, studying and comparing troop deployments, weapons systems, and so on.

In the past few years, several major books have appeared from representatives of both sides of the dispute. Gorodetsky, supported in his research by many former Soviet Jews now residing in Israel, has recently published *Grand Delusion*. Widely circulated in the West, it has won the acclaim of most of its Anglo-American reviewers. The irrepressible Suvorov, who resides in England, has published his fourth major book on the war, entitled *Samoubiystvo* ("Suicide"), dealing with events immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, while Meltiukhov, currently associated with the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Documentation and Archival Science, has just published *Upushchenny shans Stalina* ("Stalin's Lost Opportunity"). Regrettably, with the exception of *Icebreaker*, none of Suvorov's and Meltiukhov's works are currently avail-

able in English, and they have only rarely been reviewed or evaluated in the English-speaking world. Finally, an excellent translation of *Stalin's War of Extermination*, by Joachim Hoffmann, historian at Germany's Military History Research Office (MGFA), has now been made available to English speakers. This book has gone through several editions in Germany and is widely read there.

Suvorov's works enjoy the greatest sales and circulation of serious Russian literature on the war. At first his opponents (almost all professional historians) tried to ignore him. Later, when compelled to recognize his work, they attempted to dismiss his theses as the product of a fantasist who had had no access to official documents whatsoever. Yet, working solely from Soviet open source literature on the war, Suvorov deduced the Soviet plan to invade Germany, predicting that in time official documents would be found to substantiate his conclusions. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, such documents have surfaced with increasing frequency, and in recent years Suvorov has found a perfect partner in Meltiukhov, who, with his experience in documentation and archival science and his easier access to Soviet-era records, has provided documentation for Suvorov's theses.

Plan of attack

The Zhukov Plan of May 15, 1941, discussed briefly in these pages last year (see JHR 19, no. 6 [Nov.-Dec. 2000]), continues to be the focus of analysis and discussion. Recently, on the fifty-ninth anniversary of the German attack, Vladimir Sergeyev described and published excerpts from the Zhukov document, which was discovered in the Archives of the President of the Russian Federation some years ago. For ultimate security, the original twelve-page text had been handwritten by then Major General, later Marshal, A. M. Vasilevski, and addressed to the chairman of the USSR Council of Peoples Commissars, Joseph Stalin. The document, marked "Top Secret! Of Great Importance! Stalin's Eyes Only! One Copy Only!" was authorized and approved by People's Defense Minister S. K. Timoshenko and Zhukov, then chief of the Red Army general staff.

A key passage in the war plan not previously cited in these pages reads:

In order to prevent a surprise German attack and to destroy the German Army, I consider it essential that under no circumstances should the initiative for freedom of action be given to the German High



Georgi Zhukov (1896-1974), perhaps the most outstanding Soviet general of World War II, shown here in a 1941 photograph. In 1939 he led the Soviet forces in Mongolia that dealt a stunning blow to the Japanese Kwantung Army in the great battle of Khalkin-Gol. During the period he served as Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet armed forces, January-July 1941, he signed the May 1941 memo to Stalin that outlined a massive military strike against Germany. From October 1941 through March 1942 Zhukov brilliantly directed the defense of Moscow. From August 1942 to January 1943 he and General Aleksandr Vasilevski organized the Soviet victory in the battle of Stalingrad, one of the most decisive in history. Zhukov later played a major role in the great battles of Kursk (1943) and Berlin (1945).

Command[. I consider it essential] to preempt enemy deployment, to attack the German Army when it is still in the stage of deployment and has not yet had time to organize his front and the interaction between his service arms.[The word for "preempt" was underlined twice in the original document. — D.M.]

Thus did Zhukov propose to Stalin precisely what the German Army would do to his forces a month later.

The Suvorov school and certain German military analysts speculate that Stalin's failure to attack before the German onslaught of June 22, 1941, was probably because his own forces had not yet fully deployed for the offensive. Sergeyev, on the other hand, suggests that

the attack plan prepared by Zhukov was faulty.

Upon his return from the successful blitzkrieg operation he had orchestrated in the battle of Khalkin-Gol in Mongolia (August 1939), Marshal Zhukov was put in charge of the Kiev Special Military District, where he commanded the Soviet Southwestern and Western fronts. His plan of May 15, 1941, assigned these fronts the task of destroying the Wehrmacht units before them, then advancing southwest across Poland to the German border. This operation was intended to cut German forces off from the Balkan theater of operations and from their Romanian and Hungarian allies, including their vital oil fields.

Zhukov was unaware that the main deployment of German forces was not on the Soviet left flank, but in Army Group Center, further to the north. Thus, had Soviet forces attacked toward Cracow-Lublin, as Zhukov's plan called for, Army Group Center could easily have cut through the exposed right (northern) flank of the Soviet thrust, upset the Soviet offensive, and then advanced along the Minsk-Smolensk line toward Moscow. In that event, the Red Army would have found itself in an even worse situation than after the outbreak of the actual German offensive on June 22. Zhukov admitted as much later to military historian V. A. Anfilov: "In retrospect it is good that he [Stalin] did not agree with us. Otherwise, our forces might have suffered a catastrophe."

Stalin's Aims

In a more detailed study of the May 15 document, L. A. Bezymenski notes that the plan had even more ambitious goals. After completion of the first stage of the offensive, Soviet forces were to turn north and northwest to destroy the northern wing of the German front, thereby occupying East Prussia and all of Poland. Meanwhile, to the north, the Red Army would once again invade Finland. According to Bezymenski, Zhukov's bold offensive plan had very probably been influenced by Stalin's speech of May 5 to Soviet military academy graduates, in which the Soviet leader empha-



Dr. Joachim Hoffmann served from 1960 until 1995 as a historian with the semi-official Military History Research Office (MGFA) in Freiburg. His detailed revisionist work, *Hitlers Vernichtungskrieg, 1941-1945*, has been published in English as *Hitler's War of Extermination*.

sized the superiority of offensive over defensive military planning.

Soviet mobilization and deployment in the period January-June 1941 took place in three stages:

- first stage, January-March, the call-up of about a million reservists, industry ordered to step up production of T-34 and KV tanks, first echelon troops brought up to strength;
- second stage, April-June, second echelon forces moved up to the western border, Far Eastern troops moved west;
- third stage, June 1-June 22, Stalin agrees to open mobilization and to advancing second echelon armies to the front. All these operations were to be carried out in secrecy, without the enemy taking note. Once mobilized and in position, the Soviet forces were to launch a sudden, decisive offensive against Germany and her allies.

According to Meltiukhov, the correlation of forces along the front from Ostroleka (Poland) to the Carpathians at the time of the planned Zhukov offensive was as shown in the table below.

	Red Army	Wehrmacht	Ratio
Divisions	128	55	2.3:1
Troop strength	3,400,000	1,400,000	2.1:1
Field guns	38,500	16,300	2.4:1
Tanks	7,500	900	8.7:1
Aircraft	6,200	1,400	4.4:1

The attack was to begin in typical blitzkrieg fashion — without warning, with air raids on enemy airfields, and with heavy artillery bombardment of front-line enemy forces. The USSR would thus have had the clear advantage of superior forces and the benefits of the first strike. Why Stalin did not give the order to attack is unknown.

In "Stalin's Lost Opportunity," Meltiukhov establishes, with meticulous documentation, that in the years 1938-40 the Soviet Union had carried out a massive build-up of military muscle that made it the super-

	UK	France	Germany	Italy	Poland	USSR	Japan	USA
Divisions	25	32	51	67	30	126	41	11
Troop strength (thousands)	1662	1005	1343	1753	465	2485	1420	534
Field guns	13000	26546	30679	20000	50000	55790	?	?
Tanks	547	3286	3419	1390	887	21110	2000	300
Aircraft	5113	3959	4288	2938	824	1167	3180	2473

power of the day, far exceeding the might of any enemy. Meltiukhov presents the comparative strength of the major belligerents for August 1939, on the eve of Germany's invasion of Poland, as shown in the table above.

Accounting for Stalin's Delay

Meltiukhov minces no words on Stalin's intent: "The content of the Soviet operational plans, the ideological guidelines and the military propaganda, combined with information on the immediate military preparations of the Red Army for an offensive, attest unambiguously to the intention of the Soviet government to attack Germany in the summer of 1941." He concludes that at first the opening strike against Germany (Operation *Groza* [Thunderstorm]) was scheduled for June 12, 1941, but that the Kremlin later fatefully shifted the date to July 15. According to Meltiukhov: "Unfortunately, what we now know today was a secret in 1941. The Soviet leadership made a fateful miscalculation by not striking first."

Meltiukhov speculates that Stalin delayed the date for the attack when he learned, on May 12, of Rudolf Hess' flight to Scotland. Stalin feared that if the Hess peace mission succeeded, and the British withdrew from the war, the Red Army would be left to stand alone against the Germans. When it became clear that the Hess mission had failed, Stalin set July 15 as the date for Operation Thunderstorm — twenty-three days after Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa. Had the Red Army attacked on the originally scheduled date, Meltiukhov believes, it would have succeeded.

Although Soviet intelligence had been informed of the precise date of the German attack by its agent Richard Sorge in Japan, and by its "Korsikanets" and "Starshina" sources in Berlin, Stalin refused to be convinced. Moreover, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt had also warned Stalin, to no avail: Stalin knew that Britain desperately needed the USSR in the war against Germany for its own sake. By failing to strike first, as planned, the USSR lost 800,000 men

(Germany, 80,000), 4,000 aircraft (Germany, 850), 21,500 field guns and 11,800 tanks (Germany, 400) during the first two and a half weeks of the war. By the end of 1941 the Soviet Union had lost three million Red Army troops.

Meltiukhov rejects the term "preventive war." For a true preventive war, it is necessary for the attacker to know definitely that his adversary is about to invade. Meltiukhov maintains that, while each side was aware of the other's build-up and deployment of forces, neither the Germans nor the Russians knew with certainty that the other was about to attack. Stalin believed, with some logic, that Hitler would never open a second front while the Britain was still in the war, but the German leader chose not to wait until the Red Army launched its attack: he unleashed his own blitzkrieg. The situation best resembles two cats sitting on a fence waiting to see which will jump off first. On the day before the attack, Hitler signaled his frame of mind in a letter to Mussolini:

Even if I were forced to lose 60-70 divisions in Russia by the end of the year, this would still only be a small fraction of the forces I would have to maintain constantly on the eastern border under the present conditions.

In the end Germany failed, Meltiukhov states, simply because it had neither the resources nor the reserves necessary to bring a long war to a successful conclusion.

A Suicidal Invasion?

The ever controversial, iconoclastic Suvorov dedicates his new book to his adversaries. He writes, "You can't dedicate a book with this title [*Ledokol*, or "Suicide"] to friends, so I dedicate it to my enemies." An enemy of the Soviet regime who defected to England, Suvorov was tried in absentia and sentenced to death. Although his opponents are legion, including many in the post-Soviet as well as the Anglo-American establishments, in today's Russia he is the most popular writer on the history of the Second World War.



Russian historian Viktor Suvorov (Vladimir Rezun) addressed about 200 persons at the University of Salzburg in Austria on May 21, 2001. A dozen leftist thugs stormed the podium in the lecture hall to prevent him from speaking. However, several of those in audience, including Austrian military servicemen, forcibly ejected the disrupters. In this photo, several young men protect the bearded scholar.

Suvorov joins Meltiukhov in the belief that if any side was unprepared for the war that ensued, it was the Germans. On June 22, 1941 when Germany launched its desperate attack, Stalin had some 13,000 aircraft to Hitler's 2,500. Moreover, the Red Army had an even greater advantage in numbers and quality of tanks (24,000:3,700).

In "Suicide" Suvorov analyzes secondary sources in German, just as he did in his books on Russian war plans, and concludes that Hitler had lost the war even before the first shot was fired. It is Suvorov's contention that Hitler and the Nazi leadership were irresponsible in launching a war against the much larger, better prepared, and better armed Soviet Union in the absurd belief that the USSR could be defeated in ninety days — July-August-September. Hitler and the German high command unpardonably underestimated the strength of the Soviet armed forces, which Stalin had been building up since the mid-1920s. Germany, of course, did not begin rearming until the mid-1930s, and would delay mobilizing for total war until around 1943.

Stalin and his advisors knew that the Wehrmacht lacked all the essentials for a protracted war under conditions of extreme cold. Through their intelligence ser-

vices and agents, the Soviets had learned that: German tanks were inferior to their own in both quantity and quality; Germany was critically short of oil; Germany did not manufacture cold-resistant lubricants; the German forces had not been issued winter clothing; Germany was dependent for its war effort on the import of many raw materials; and much more.

Exasperated by the short-sighted, superficial German plan for victory in three months, Suvorov asks a few rhetorical questions: Did Hitler think that May followed October in Russia? Had he learned nothing from Napoleon's campaign? Did he not know that, even if he reached Moscow, Russia would have continued the war from the Urals in the interior, far beyond the reach of German long-range bombers?

By the end of the fourth month of Barbarossa, the German economy was already groaning. Fritz Todt, chief of arms production, advised Hitler to arrange for an armistice. Large-scale German tank operations had to be curtailed for lack of fuel. The German panzer units, with their limited number of tanks, were often forced to cover long distances to quell unforeseen exigencies, thereby further exhausting fuel supplies. (Large-scale blitzkrieg operations, ensuring the greatest possible encirclement and bag of prisoners, require that the tanks moving out from one pincer proceed with minimum diversion in order to meet those jumping off from the other pincer, thereby closing the encirclement.)

Beyond the Propaganda

Suvorov's list of villains is long indeed. Hitler, Goebbels, and the subservient German generals are castigated for their recklessness. But Suvorov's venom is mostly directed at the Communist and post-Communist establishment, whose spokesmen continue to mouth the Party line. He ridicules and mocks what he considers the falsehoods, misconceptions, myths, and errors about the German-Russian war invented and circulated by the various Soviet and post-Soviet "scientific institutes," including the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Institute of Military History, whose researchers have tried to dismiss Suvorov's findings as "unscientific."

Suvorov dismisses typical official Soviet sources for the war as specious propaganda devoid of hard facts or figures. The main message of the original six-volume *History of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941-45*, Suvorov contends, is that Nikita Khrushchev

(under whose administration the work was compiled) won the war single-handedly. Suvorov goes on to observe that when the twelve-volume revised edition of this official history was written under Leonid Brezhnev, it was revised to show that it was actually Brezhnev who had won the Great Patriotic War.

Suvorov singles out the memoirs of Marshal Zhukov for special criticism. He hazards that these were probably written by Glavpur (the Main Political Directorate of the Red Army). Thus "Zhukov" writes that on June 22, 1941, the Germans enjoyed a 5-6:1 advantage over Soviet forces in field pieces, tanks and aircraft, when in fact the ratio was to Russia's advantage.

Suvorov considers Stalin to have been Hitler's superior in cleverness, rationality, emotional stability, international politics, cruelty, and blood-letting. Stalin was much better informed about German capabilities than Hitler was of Russian. Suvorov introduces a Russian adage to demean Hitler's attempt to outwit Stalin: "Never try to trick a trickster." The only reason for Hitler's initial success, for Suvorov, was that Barbarossa was an entirely irrational decision, which the thoroughly logical Stalin could not possibly have anticipated. In the opinion of this reviewer, that was precisely why Hitler took the gamble. Suvorov's Russian nativism shines forth when he writes: "Only a fool would consider defeating Russia! Only a complete idiot would ever think of defeating it in a three-month campaign!"

As brilliant as Suvorov has been in exposing the historical lies of the corrupt Communist and post-Communist regimes, even sympathetic readers must take issue with him on certain points. As with Heinrich Schliemann's discovery of Troy, Suvorov's findings may not satisfy the more professional historians in every detail — and some of them will be subject to revision.

Overrating Stalin

Occasionally Suvorov contradicts himself. For example, he argues that when Hitler turned his troops southward to Kiev before Moscow was taken, he all but lost the war. But elsewhere Suvorov recognizes that in war the best strategy is to defeat the enemy's armed forces, not to take prestige cities. In fact the German forces turned south not so much to take Kiev as to destroy another Soviet army. The German generals, who after all had some experience in the conduct of war, were of course perfectly aware of the pointlessness of capturing large cities merely for trophy value. When the enemy's armed forces are destroyed, his cities will



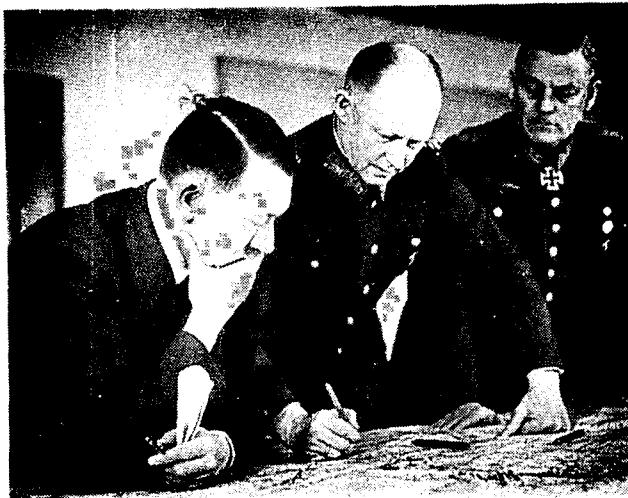
Nikita Khrushchev on the bank of the San river in Poland, Sept. 29, 1939, in the aftermath of the German-Soviet subjugation of the Polish republic. After Stalin's death, Khrushchev was premier of the Soviet Union, 1953-1964. In his memoir, he recalled:

"We knew perfectly well that Hitler was trying to trick us with the [August 1939 German-Soviet non-aggression] treaty. I heard with my own ears how Stalin said, 'Of course it's all a game to see who can fool whom. I know what Hitler's up to. He thinks he's outsmarted me, but actually it's I who have tricked him!' ... We weren't fooling ourselves. We knew that eventually we would be drawn into the war, although I suppose Stalin hoped that the English and the French might exhaust Hitler and foil his plan to crush the West first and then to turn east.... The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 1939 ... was like a gambit in chess: if we hadn't made that move, the [1941-1945 German-Soviet] war should have started earlier, much to our disadvantage. As it was, we were given a respite."

Source: *Khrushchev Remembers* (Boston: 1970), pp. 128-129.

fall on their own.

Only in the case of Stalingrad did the German invaders commit all their forces and energies to take a city — with disastrous results. The previous winter, after the failure to take Moscow, reason had prevailed and the Germans retreated to a more defensible line, where they were able to regroup and reinforce their armies. Without the help of the Finns, German forces were inadequate to take Leningrad, so they bypassed the city. But Hitler forbade any retreat from Stalingrad. Its capture had been aimed, among other things, at blocking oil shipments up the Volga north to the Soviets. The Wehrmacht was no less concerned to fuel its own war machine: it had secured the Crimea in order to



General Alfred Jodl, center, makes a point about the military situation during a briefing with Hitler and General Wilhelm Keitel.

protect its chief sources of petroleum, in Romania and Hungary, from Soviet air attack from that peninsula.

Suvorov's excessive regard for Stalin's leadership and his equally overdone criticism of Hitler's ignores the fact that Germany nearly did defeat the Red Army. Had the United States, Great Britain, France, and other allies not supported Stalin with arms, trucks, provisions, and other necessities of war, the outcome might have been quite different. It must also be recalled that, throughout much of the long Russian-German conflict, Germany was compelled to divert twenty to thirty percent of its war effort to the Western front.

Suvorov's main contention, that Stalin groomed Hitler to do his dirty work in Europe, is untenable. It gives far too much credit to the Soviet dictator. Germany never wanted a war in the west, let alone one against Britain. True, the Germans suspected France — especially under the government of Léon Blum's popular front — of further mischief.

It must be recalled that Germany's ill-fated attack on the Soviet Union followed several successive attempts at its encirclement by its enemies. In the 1930s British and French diplomacy had succeeded in surrounding her with hostile nations. Then came the attempted Scandinavian and Balkan encirclement, and finally that of the U.S., UK, and USSR. With both Soviet and Western forces increasing in strength, Germany took a desperate gamble to break the ring, rather than wait until the Red Army seized the most opportune time to pounce.

True, the gamble failed. Today's Germany, however, is a prosperous country, much smaller than it might have wished, but the remnant of Stalin's USSR, stripped of the Tsar's empire, is not much more than an overgrown economic basket case.

Suvorov exaggerates Stalin's "genius." While it is true that he created a police state and built up the Red Army to superpower status, his armed forces failed miserably at the time they were most needed, June 1941. It is also true that Stalin dominated Churchill and Roosevelt, above all in the several conferences that determined postwar arrangements among the "Big Three," but the Western leaders had cast themselves in the role of supplicants who needed the Red Army to contain and destroy Germany.

For all that, Suvorov has made a great contribution to correcting the history of the Second World War by dispelling, once and for all, the myth of a peace-loving Soviet Union invented by Communist propagandists and circulated in the West by their dupes and sympathizers.

Trusting Stalin

According to Gorodetsky's version of the Soviet Union, the USSR planned only counter-attacks in defense of the homeland, and its leader, Stalin, was too trusting of Adolf Hitler. Gorodetsky completely ignores the Soviet Union's military build-up from the 1930s until the outbreak of hostilities in 1941. The tens of thousands of advanced tanks and aircraft; the training of hundreds of thousands of paratroopers; the forward deployment of airfields, depots, and attack units on the eve of the attack in June 1941 are all hard evidence of Stalin's real intentions.

The Israeli researcher has limited himself almost entirely to examining statements from official Soviet sources. For the most part, he ignores military analysts (whether Russian, German, or American), who are better equipped than he to evaluate military capabilities and designs. These researchers tend increasingly to agree with Suvorov.

Gorodetsky retains the stale support of the old Soviet establishment, while Suvorov has gained many post-Soviet adherents in recent years. While Gorodetsky is read mostly in England and the United States, erstwhile allies of Stalinist Russia, Suvorov is read widely in Russia and Germany, whose peoples experienced Stalin's and Hitler's war first hand.

No Room for Chivalry

In *Stalin's War of Extermination* Joachim Hoffmann examines both the underlying causes and the ruthless execution of the war by Russians and Germans alike, in a thoroughly engrossing, systematic approach that is unsurpassed with respect to comprehensiveness, objectivity, and documentation. Hoffmann has made extensive use of interrogations of Soviet prisoners of war, ranging in rank from general to private, conducted by their German captors during the war. These interviews, combined with the traditional exploitation of open-source, unclassified literature and recently declassified materials, irrefutably dispel the myth of a peace-loving Soviet Union led by a trusting, pacific Joseph Stalin. Hoffmann's research confirms conclusively that the Soviet Union was making final preparations for its own preemptive attack when the Wehrmacht struck.

Besides the POW interrogations, Hoffmann cites such military authorities as Dmitri Volkogonov, to the effect that Stalin needed only a few more weeks to bring his forces into complete battle readiness; Soviet military analyst Colonel Danilov, who agrees that the "vozhd" (commander) only needed a bit more time; and Colonel Karpov, who has written:

In the early grayness of a May or June morning, thousands of our aircraft and tens of thousands of our guns would have dealt the blow against the densely concentrated German force, whose positions were known down to battalion level — a surprise even more inconceivable than the German attack on us.

Hoffmann contends that war between these two mutually hostile, ideologically driven nations was inevitable: it was merely a question of which side would initiate hostilities. He reminds that the First World War had brought Communism to power over the one sixth of the one sixth of the Earth's surface that had been the Russian empire. A second world war, Lenin preached, would advance Communism throughout Europe. Stalin, Lenin's faithful disciple in propagating Communism, acted from the outset of his rule to increase the USSR's military might to that end. By 1941, the Red Army's aircraft, tanks, and field artillery exceeded Germany's by a factor of at least six to one in each category. In that year, the USSR's paratroops and submarines, exclusively offensive forces, exceeded those of the rest of the world combined.

The main principles of Soviet military doctrine in the spring of 1941 were: 1) the Red Army is an offensive



Soviet troops hoist the red hammer and sickle flag over the Reichstag in Berlin, an act that symbolized the Soviet subjugation of eastern and central Europe. The Battle of Berlin climaxed the titanic struggle of German and Soviet forces that began on June 22, 1941.

army; 2) war must always be fought on enemy territory, with minimum friendly losses and the total destruction of the enemy; 3) the working class in the enemy's country is a potential ally and should be encouraged to rebel against its masters; and 4) war preparations must serve to ensure offensive capabilities.

So confident was Stalin of Soviet military superiority, Hoffmann asserts, that he doubted Germany would ever be foolish enough to attack, especially as long as Britain remained in the war. Dumbfounded at the German successes at the outset of Barbarossa, the Soviet dictator realized that he had underestimated Germany's chances of defeating the Red Army. Suvorov has described Stalin's probable state of mind as comparable to that of the designer of the *Titanic* after learning it had

sunk. Nevertheless, vowing vengeance, still confident of ultimate victory, Stalin demanded the total extermination of the German invaders. On November 6, 1941, he declared:

Well now, if the Germans want a war of extermination, they will get it. From now on it will be our task, the task of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the task of our fighters, commanders, and the political officials of our Army and Navy to exterminate to the last man all Germans who have invaded Homeland as occupiers. No mercy to the German occupiers! Death to the German occupiers!

Hitler, for his part, by underestimating the military strength of the Soviet Union, led his country to a catastrophic defeat. Goebbels, in his diary, suggested that had Hitler known the actual strength of the Red Army, he might have at least paused before taking his fateful gamble. Yet, however disastrous the Axis attack finally proved for the German nation in the end, Hoffmann believes that all Europe would have suffered as grim a fate had the Red Army succeeded in striking first.

This clash to the death between two ideologically driven states, Hoffmann observes, left no room for chivalry, or for the strict observance of international conventions on land warfare. Stalin insisted that Soviet soldiers not surrender, and used maximal terror to prevent them from doing so. Soviet POWs were deemed deserters, and any Soviet soldier who surrendered was to be killed on falling into Soviet hands. (Near the end of the war German soldiers who refused to fight were shot and hanged from lamp posts for all to see.) Throughout the Great Patriotic War, as the Soviets dubbed it, "Soviet patriotism" and "mass heroism" were heavily dependent on terrorism. As Hoffmann writes, the head of Red Army Political Propaganda, Commissar Lev Sakharovich Mekhlis, was empowered by Stalin to use every device of terror to keep the Red Army fighting. This Mekhlis did with relish. In consequence of the activity of this and other commissars, Stalin's terror against his own people (soldiers and civilians) during the war accounted for a substantial percentage of the estimated twenty-five million Soviet war dead. (See also Walter Sanning's essay on Soviet losses, "Soviet Scorched-Earth Warfare," in JHR 6, no. 1 [spring 1985]). Even so, more than five million Soviet soldiers managed to surrender to the invaders by the end of the war. Of those who survived the war, many had cause to wish they hadn't following their repatriation to the USSR.

Unpunished Crimes, Aggressive Plans

From the onset of the war, German soldiers unfortunate enough to be taken prisoner were often mutilated and murdered. When the Soviet forces entered Germany, men and boys were murdered or drafted for forced labor; the women were often raped, sometimes murdered, and, if strong enough, dragooned for forced labor.

Although by about 1950 Stalin decided to lessen the influence of Jews in the Communist Party, Jews were very much involved in murderous assignments during the war. In addition to Mekhlis, there was Lazar Kaganovich, responsible for the deaths of millions; General Abakumov, who headed the NKVD/MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs, or secret police), and Generals Reichman and Chernyakhovski, who were especially ruthless. Hoffmann hastens to add that the criminal actions of individual Jews should no more reflect on the Jewish people as a whole than the criminal actions of individual Nazis on the German people. Yet Nazis charged with war crimes have been, and continue to be, tried and punished, while, curiously, no courts appear to be interested in bringing Communist criminals to justice.

The thoroughness and reliability of Hoffmann's work (which helpfully includes an appendix containing key original documents in Polish, Russian, English, and German) is nicely exemplified in his treatment of Zhukov's plan of May 15, 1941. While Sergeyev and Bezymenski seem to suggest that the plan was only recently discovered, Hoffmann makes manifestly clear that the plan has long been known and analyzed. Colonel Valeri Danilov and Dr. Heinz Magenheimer examined this plan and other documents that indicate Soviet preparations for attack almost ten years ago in an Austrian military journal (*Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift*, nos. 5 and 6, 1991; no. 1, 1993; and no. 1, 1994). Both researchers concluded that the Zhukov plan of May 15, 1941, reflected Stalin's May 5, 1941 speech (see above) heralding the birth of the new offensive Red Army. Hoffmann reproduces an original document, referred to as "Short Notation of Comrade Stalin's Speech to the Red Army Academy on May 5, 1941," which concludes with the words:

But now that we have reconstructed our army and abundantly saturated it with the technology to wage modern warfare, now that we have become strong — now we are obliged to go from defense to attack. In defending our country we are obliged to act in an offensive manner. To switch over from defense to a

military policy of offensive action. We must reconstruct our training, our propaganda, our agitation, and our press in the spirit of attack. The Red Army is now a modern army, and a modern army is an army of attack.

The Zhukov plan of May 15, 1941, indicates clearly that the Red Army planned a preemptive strike against the German forces across the border. Hoffmann further notes that a few days later, on May 20, 1941, Mikhail Kalinin, then chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and nominally head of state, gave a speech in which he said:

War is a very dangerous business, laden with sorrows, but when a time comes when it is possible to expand the realm of Communism, war should not be discounted ... and the zone of Communism must be expanded. The capitalist world can only be destroyed by the red hot glowing steel of a holy revolutionary war.

Kalinin thus strongly implied that the war the USSR was about to wage was not a preventive war forced upon it by Germany, but a war of conquest to expand the Communist empire.

The Perfect Storm

The preponderance of documents uncovered in the past decade, including further analyses of the Zhukov plan of May 15, 1941, by members of the Suvorov school, should convince the impartial reader that: Germany was woefully unprepared for a long war; that the Soviet Union was not only armed to the teeth, but poised to spring in July 1941; that Stalin was Lenin's disciple in striving to advance Communism to the rest of Europe, especially to Germany; and that the governments of Britain and France were totally oblivious of the greater danger Communism posed to them when they declared war on Germany over its border dispute with Poland. The failure of the British, French, and American leaderships to perceive that the Soviet Union was by far the deadlier threat, even in 1939, was a mistake that has taken half a century to rectify, at the cost of countless millions of lives.

Hoffmann concludes that the war between the two irreconcilable ideologies was inevitable and unavoidable. Stalin's fanatical adherence to Communism (class hatred) and Hitler's equally fanatical adherence to racial theories (Hoffmann cites Disraeli: "The race question is the key to world history") led their peoples to a catastrophe unmatched since the Thirty Years' War.

Hoffmann blames the horrible excesses the Red Army inflicted on German civilians on hate-obsessed war propagandists such as Ilya Ehrenburg in Russia who deliberately exaggerated German crimes. Thus, Hoffman notes, Ehrenburg announced a death toll of four million for Auschwitz on January 4, 1945, weeks before the capture of the camp. Likewise, months before the war's end, Ehrenburg reported that six million Jews had been murdered by the Germans. Moreover, in many instances, including the infamous Katyn forest massacre of Polish prisoners, Red propagandists shamelessly tried to blame the German army for crimes committed by the Soviets.

Like his colleague Wolfgang Strauss, Hoffmann advocates reconciliation between the peoples of Germany and Russia. The policies of both Stalin's Communist regime and Hitler's National Socialist state were aberrations far removed from the traditional friendship between the two peoples as prevailed under Bismarck and before him. In that spirit Hoffmann makes special mention of Drs. Heinz Magenheimer, Werner Maser, Ernst Topitsch, Günther Gillessen, Alfred M. de Zayas, Viktor Suvorov, and also Aleksandr Moiseevich Nekrich and Lev Kopelev, two former Soviet wartime commissars of Jewish extraction, for their courageous contributions to revisionist history. (Nor has Hoffmann been less than courageous: he testified in a German court to the scholarly quality of Germar Rudolf's Holocaust revisionist anthology, *Grundlagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, later published in English as *Dissecting the Holocaust*.)

The extreme economic and political conditions that afflicted much of the first half of the twentieth century devastated Germany and Russia. The slaughter of the First World War, the triumph of Communism in Russia, the treaty of Versailles, and the Great Depression combined to culminate in the political storm of the century, the Second World War, much as unique and unforeseen meteorological conditions in October 1991 — three merging hurricanes — combined to create what writer Sebastian Junger called "the perfect storm," a devastating "nor'easter" in the North Atlantic. In historians such as Suvorov and Hoffmann, the historical tempest of the twentieth century is, increasingly, finding able and objective chroniclers.

Pearl Harbor: Case Closed?

Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbor by Robert B. Stinnett. New York: Simon and Schuster, Touchstone, 2000. Paperback. 399 pages. Index, illustrations, maps.

Pearl Harbor Betrayed: The True Story of a Man and a Nation under Attack by Michael Gannon. New York: Henry Holt, 2001. Hardcover. 340 pages. Index, illustrations, maps.

REVIEWED BY THEODORE O'KEEFE

As the sixtieth anniversary of what President Franklin Roosevelt called "a date which will live in infamy" (and who would know that better than he?) passes, the controversy over Pearl Harbor is as lively as ever. In no other area of the history of the Second World War have revisionists had quite as much success in convincing a broad section of public that the official version has it wrong: that it is President Franklin Roosevelt, not local commanders General Walter Short and Admiral Husband Kimmel, who should bear the blame for the devastating Japanese attack.

Two recent books argue that Admiral Husband Kimmel, in particular, was gravely wronged by his superiors, not merely after December 7, 1941, but in the weeks and months before. One, Robert Stinnett's *Day of Deceit*, is radically revisionist, claiming to abound in new evidence for a conspiracy involving the president, the war and navy departments, the army chief of staff, and the chief of naval operations, among many other participants. The other, Michael Gannon's *Pearl Harbor Betrayed*, makes no explicit accusations of conspiracy, nor does it seriously fault America's confrontational diplomacy vis-a-vis Japan in the years leading up to the attack. Odd as it might seem, this reviewer found the second the more satisfying book.

Stinnett has worked for many years on the question of whether American leaders, civilian and military, had foreknowledge of the Japanese attack on America's army and navy bases on Oahu. His review of the diplomatic evidence merely confirms what Charles Beard, George Morgenstern, Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles Callan Tansill, Percy Greaves, James Martin, and other revisionists have firmly established: that Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Secretary of War Henry Stimson desired, and provoked, war with Japan, and that they certainly knew that Japan was going to

war a day or more before the December 7 attacks (which hit U.S. bases in the Philippines as well).

Stinnett's attempts to establish that America's civilian and military leadership was, or should have been, privy to the Japanese plans for Pearl Harbor through the interception and reading of certain of Japan's naval codes is harder to credit. A fair amount of his case rests on a sizable number of messages from ships and units of the Japanese navy that Stinnett was able to make public for the first time, not without diligent effort, under provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. It is difficult for a layman to interpret the significance of these documents, however, for Stinnett often fails to provide such key details as how they were routed and when they were read. Many of Japan's pre-Pearl Harbor messages were decoded only after the war.

A central contention of *Day of Deceit* is that American cryptanalysts solved the main operational code of the Japanese navy (designated as the "5-Num code," for its five number groups, by the code breakers) well in advance of the post-Pearl Harbor solution date accepted by most historians. On page 71 Stinnett writes that not only the Americans, but also the British, the Dutch, and the Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese had solved the 5-Num code by fall of 1941. Here, however, he is writing of three other codes as well, so the reader must leaf back to page 23 to discover that "Recovery [of the 5-Num code] was effected [by the U.S.] before April [1941]."

But what does Stinnett mean by "recovery"? In numerous passages he implies that the code was fully cracked and readable by the date he has given, and an uncareful reader of his pages 73-81, the section of *Day of Deceit* that deals most thoroughly with the decoding of the 5-Num code, will likely take it that this was the case. Yet Stinnett supplies little documentation about just how much of this key Japanese naval code — the U.S. Navy's ability to read it was the key to the stunning American victory at Midway in June 1942 — could be understood before Pearl Harbor; none of his sources demonstrates that more than a small fraction of the chief operational code of the Japanese fleet could be read until later. His habit of grouping facts under a blanket statement that doesn't cover all of them can't disguise that what he calls on page 73 "an example of Num-5 and SM [ship movement code] decryption" turns out to have been merely an example of SM code decryption. Stinnett could have spared his readers a



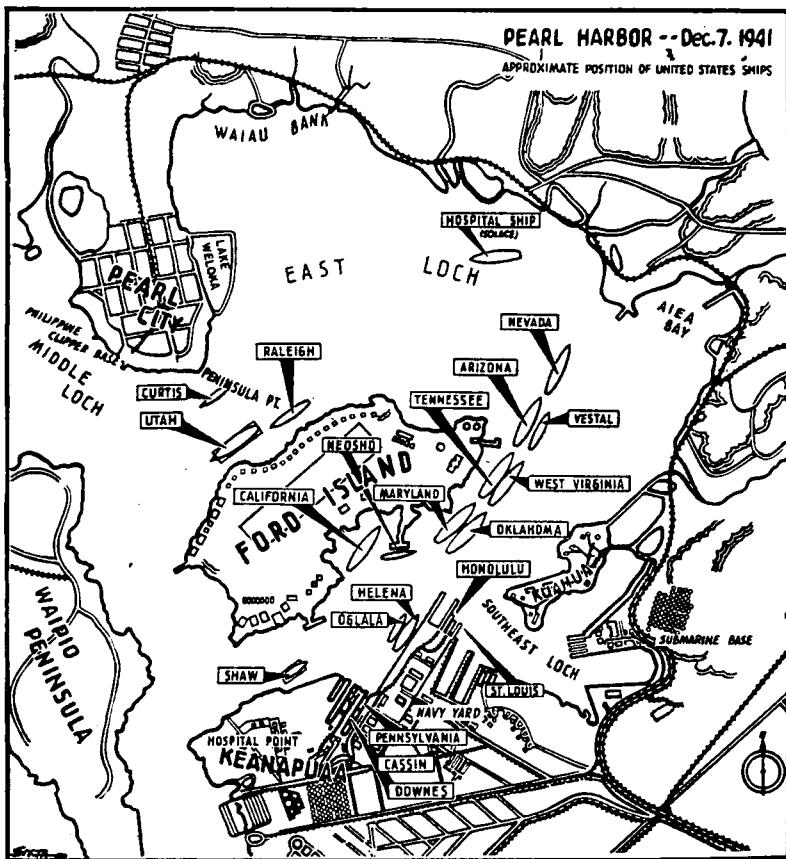
The wreck of an American B-17 bomber at Hickam air field, Hawaii, December 7, 1941. After being attacked while in the air by Japanese fighter planes, it came down in flames and broke in half upon hitting the ground.

good deal of confusion and frustration by featuring more prominently a statement, buried at the bottom of a long footnote, that seems to be his clearest and most unambiguous statement on the matter: "There is no reliable evidence, found by the author, that establishes how much of the 5-Num text could be deciphered, translated, and read by naval cryptographers in 1941." (p. 334, n. 18)

Stinnett hasn't made things any easier for his readers by his often disconcerting manner of exposition. Although a retired journalist, Stinnett tends to over-complicate his story. His exposition, particularly in the first several chapters, is complicated, and sometimes nightmarish, for he makes repeated, arbitrary cuts back and forth, both in theme and chronology. Whether these jarring shifts are due to authorial woolgathering and editorial negligence, or whether they are part of some deliberate purpose, they make concentrating on the facts a constant chore. In turn, the frequent jumps force endless repetition, which does little to smooth the muddy flow. Just as bad, he can be a master at deflating his own suspense: *Day of Deceit* begins with breathless account of Edward R. Murrow's claim that he had gotten the biggest story of his life at a meeting with FDR on the evening of December 7 ("The Biggest Story of My Life"), but the biggest story turns out to be ... nothing. "In the end, Murrow's story remained unwritten and

unbroadcast."

Stinnett makes much of a memorandum that he discovered in the National Archives and which he believes explains U.S. policy toward Japan from October 1940 on. Written by the chief of the Office of Naval Intelligence's Far East desk, Lieutenant Commander Arthur McCollum, the eight-part memorandum calls for U.S. diplomatic and military measures, in conjunction with British and Dutch forces in the South Pacific, aimed at driving the Japanese to the wall. These measures included imposing a total embargo on Japan, aiding Chiang Kai-shek, and moving U.S. forces westward, to include bases in Singapore and the Dutch East Indies, and the basing of the "main strength" of the U.S. fleet in the vicinity of the Hawaiian islands. Confrontational though these proposals were, Stinnett is not able to show that Roosevelt or any other high official ever saw them. Several were not adopted, including the proposed colonial bases; one or two were in force before the memorandum; in one case the author has equated a handful of U.S. cruiser sorties in and around Japanese waters (most of them near Japanese mandates in the Pacific) with the stationing of a division of heavy cruisers in the Far East. In any case, the McCollum memorandum would seem to be incidental to Roosevelt's and the well-known Japanophobe Stimson's growing need for a "back door to war."



"Battleship Row" by Ford Island in Pearl Harbor was the main Japanese target.

Many of Stinnett's allegations are highly technical and demand fairly expert treatment, but nearly any reader will be given pause by the vast conspiracy to deny General Short and Admiral Kimmel knowledge of the attack that Stinnett posits in this book. Starting with Roosevelt, Stimson, Hull, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Chief of Naval Operations Harold Stark, and Chief of Staff George C. Marshall, it runs down a long roster of top officers, including General Douglas MacArthur. Especially prominent among Stinnett's culprits are officers from naval intelligence and signals intelligence, including Commander Joseph Rochefort, the chief naval cryptographer in Hawaii; Lieutenant Commander Edward Layton, Admiral Kimmel's fleet intelligence officer and his ardent defender in later years; and Commander Laurance Safford, the U.S. Navy's chief code breaker and a man who, if Stinnett is to be believed, must have fooled plenty of the revisionist historians with whom he worked closely on the Pearl Harbor question over the decades. Various of Stinnett's

allegations leave an unsavory taste, such as his repeated implication that Admiral Walter Anderson, former chief of naval intelligence, commander of battleships at Pearl Harbor on December 7, resided away from the naval base due to foreknowledge of the attack.

While some, or even much, of the material that Stinnett has been able to have declassified and released may be of use to revisionists, to this reviewer *Day of Deceit* raised many more questions than it satisfactorily answered. Until these are answered, Stinnett's book is potentially a dangerous one, far more so to revisionists than to partisans of the official version on Pearl Harbor.

Michael Gannon's *Pearl Harbor Betrayed*, on the other hand, is an outstanding example of historiographical writing: it is well-organized, well-documented, and in its depiction of the well-worn story of the Japanese attack, fresh, informed, and dramatic.

Like Stinnett, Gannon defends Admiral Kimmel's response to the attack, and far more actively.

Sometimes, in reflecting the deep loyalties of Kimmel's family and his fellow officers, he sounds a bit like a cheerleader. This is quite pardonable, however, in view of the grievous and unjust harm done Kimmel's reputation (he was relieved of command and labeled derelict of duty) in order to clear Roosevelt, Stimson, Marshall, Stark, and their henchmen for, at the very least, failing to provide the commander of the Pacific Fleet and the commander of the Hawaii Department, General Short, with the men, materiel, and information necessary to defend their commands.

Gannon is particularly strong on Washington's failure to provide Kimmel (and Short) with the ships, planes, and guns needed to defend Pearl Harbor and the other bases on Oahu, where the fleet's headquarters had been transferred only over the strong objections of Kimmel's predecessor, Admiral Richardson. He stresses that, as the Roosevelt administration was gearing up to involve America in a war against Germany, it was not merely failing to provide Pearl Harbor with the means to defend itself, it was systematically stripping Hawaii

of its defenses, diverting ships from the Pacific Fleet to anti-German purposes in the Atlantic, and sending patrol planes and advanced fighter planes desperately needed in Hawaii to Great Britain and the Soviet Union. Gannon provides a thorough, even vivid account of Kimmel's efforts to get his fleet battle ready. As he notes, the fleet's anti-aircraft guns were manned and firing within four minutes of the opening of the attack, but their guns were out of date and nearly useless against fast, low-flying planes.

Gannon pretty much toes the line regarding a unilaterally aggressive Japan; on the other hand, he is quite acute in noting the progressive violations of neutrality by FDR in his undeclared naval war in the Atlantic in alliance with England. Here the research he has done in conjunction with *Operation Drumbeat*, his much hailed account of the initial German submarine campaign against American shipping, and other works continues to prove its worth. He has even discovered orders from Admiral King, commander of Atlantic fleet, to the captains of his escort ships authorizing them to shoot on sight in July 1941, well before FDR's issuance of that order following the *Greer* incident in September. Gannon makes clear that he is at least mildly contemptuous of such Roosevelt stratagems as decreeing that the Western Hemisphere extended to the east of Azores, or occupying Iceland (which he compares to the Japanese occupation of Indochina).

Pearl Harbor Betrayed offers a detailed and careful account of all the major issues in the Kimmel case. In nearly every instance the author comes down on the admiral's side, and against his political and naval superiors in Washington. Gannon methodically demonstrates that Kimmel could not have done a better job of air reconnaissance with the planes available to him, and that he was denied key intelligence, including access to Japan's top-secret diplomatic code (called "Purple") and to reports from a Japanese naval spy in Honolulu that clearly indicated an attack on Pearl Harbor (all of this intelligence was made available to U.S. commanders in ... the Philippines!). Gannon is at his best in parsing the key orders Kimmel received from Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, Chief of Naval Operations Harold Stark, and Secretary of War Henry Stimson in the final weeks and days before the attack: steeped in naval procedure, he shows that Kimmel, after being left blind by his superiors, was given imprecise, misleading, and wrongheaded directives that all but left him and his fleet sitting ducks. His defense of Admiral Kimmel



Admiral H. E. Kimmel during a relaxed moment, prior to his appointment as commander of the U.S. Pacific fleet.

makes the 1995 finding by Undersecretary of Defense Edwin Dorn that Kimmel and Short were not solely responsible for the fiasco, and the recent recommendation of Congress that the admiral be restored to his highest wartime rank, all the more satisfying.

Little of this, except for Gannon's grasp of detail and bloodhound's instinct for sources, is new to knowledgeable revisionists. And revisionists will rightly cavil at Gannon's reluctance to lay more than a kind of procedural blame on Stark, Turner, et al., let alone Franklin Roosevelt, whom he seems to acquit in a footnote aimed at Gore Vidal's unblushingly conspiratorial novel *Golden Age* (*leitmotiv*: FDR? Did he ever know!):

One need not hold FDR to blame for what happened at Pearl Harbor if one's wish is to exonerate Kimmel and Short. One need only cite the faithlessness and ineptitude of the war and Navy Departments, about which much has been written in these pages.(p. 363, n. 62)



Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short, commanding general of the U.S. Army's Hawaiian Department.

Bad as that sounds, Stinnett's fulsome tributes to Roosevelt are worse, for he tells us that none of the numerous treacheries he attributes to Roosevelt throughout *Day of Deceit* "diminish Franklin Delano Roosevelt's magnificent contributions to the American people." What both authors really mean to say, of course, is that Holocaustomania is alive and well, and that any questioning of America's entry in the great anti-fascist crusade is liable to render one an accomplice to the most recently discovered Holocaust crime.

The more important of these two books, *Day of Deceit* (if only for its ambition), may provide some new evidence for a conspiracy including FDR as well as his underlings, but seems untrustworthy. *Pearl Harbor Betrayed* is well worth reading, for its up-to-date consideration of the key questions as well as for the reasons stated above, but shies away from uncovering a conspiracy. The book that solves the Pearl Harbor mystery, however, remains unwritten.

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Holocaust survivor
and author
Albert Kawachi

Typhus and Cholera, Nazis and Jews

Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe, 1890-1945 by Paul Weindling. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Hardcover. 463 pages. Index, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY SAMUEL CROWELL

There is a certain class of history books that are interesting and valuable in spite of a lack of original insight or creativity on the part of the author. Richard Evans's massive tome on the nineteenth century outbreaks of cholera in North Germany, *Death in Hamburg*, is one such. Paul Weindling's *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe* is another. Weindling's book, however, contains elements of Jewish apologetics and consistent anti-German condemnation that are exceptional even in today's climate, and are perhaps the book's most striking feature.

For the most part, the book is a highly detailed and commendably researched description of the development of medical procedures developed for combating epidemic diseases in Eastern Europe from the mid-nineteenth century through the end of the Second World War. In this respect it provides a useful supplement to Fritz Berg's pioneering English language studies in this area. The book also raises themes discussed in my own work: it would not be too much to say that Weindling provides an enormously expanded treatment of the history of disinfection summarized in chapter three of *The Gas Chamber of Sherlock Holmes*, an essay which sought to demonstrate the reasonableness of revisionist doubt in the face of threats of censorship. Weindling's book is, after all, based on many of the same sources.

It would wrong, however, to suggest that Weindling argues from a revisionist perspective, or that he gives due credit to revisionist contributions. On the contrary, the main thesis of his book is that the Germans developed the techniques of disinfection — showers, poison gas, and cremation — and then, working from an

Samuel Crowell is the pen name of an American writer who describes himself as a "moderate revisionist." At the University of California (Berkeley) he studied philosophy, foreign languages (including German, Polish, Russian, and Hungarian), and history, including Russian, German, and German-Jewish history. He continued his study of history at Columbia University. For six years he worked as a college teacher.

evolving perception of Jews as vermin to be eradicated, employed these techniques during the war as part of a "lethal trinity" for genocidal purposes. For example, Weindling writes that "the medical techniques of disinfection, fumigation, and disinfection ... were unleashed by the Nazis for genocide" (p. 400), a thesis which is dropped into the text dozens of times, but nowhere really argued, let alone proved. Similarly, his notion of a developed concept of associating Jews with vermin, and thus requiring extermination, rests entirely on a series of vaguely anti-Jewish remarks culled from almost a hundred years of German medical literature on the typhus problem in Eastern Europe.

Which brings us to the larger issue of Weindling's extreme apologetic tendencies. That Eastern European Jews — like virtually any other Eastern Europeans — were vectors of typhus and other diseases endemic to the region is a simple fact. Similarly, the aversion of Eastern Europeans to disinfection measures, such as head-shaving and showering, is also universally attested by commentators, and indeed by many of the sources Weindling quotes. Yet any expression of irritation at the evasive or dilatory reactions to disinfection, or of fear of the contagiousness of Eastern Europeans, is likely to be catalogued by Weindling as simply further indication of the supposedly evolving anti-Semitic stereotype that would, decades later, make possible mass murder.

Weindling's defensiveness in this area reaches a high point in his discussion of the well-known cholera epidemic of 1892, which struck Hamburg, and New York City later the same year. Weindling quotes the assessment of leading German physician Robert Koch that the cholera had been brought in by Russian immigrants. Yet, at the end of a tortured paragraph of reasoning, Weindling argues that "there is no conclusive proof for the view held at the time by anti-Semites that Russian Jews caused the Hamburg cholera epidemic" (p. 63). Our first reaction to this kind of display is to wonder why the author chooses to waste the reader's time with such argument. If Russian immigrants were the source of the disease in Hamburg, and most of them were Jews, then the conclusion should be obvious. We should stress that this in no way should be considered a slur on the Jewish migrants: they were, after all, fleeing persecution, carrying diseases to which they themselves succumbed, and were usually destitute: King Cholera, like most diseases, reigned mostly over the poor. But to argue around the point, just so anti-

Semites will never be right, or, perhaps, to ensure that a people is never stigmatized, is not only to distort history but to write history which hardly bears reading.

Unfortunately, these apologetic tendencies are repeatedly at work in this book. Resistance against disinfection is excused because it was harsh and dehumanizing. Avoidance of head shaving was justified because there was divided opinion as to whether head lice were vectors of typhus. If Germans characterized Polish Jewish prostitutes as disease-ridden and lousy, Weindling is quick to point out that the incidence of gonorrhea and syphilis was higher in German cities. The threat of typhus in Eastern Europe was exaggerated by unnamed “medical elites” in order to justify the enormous expenditures by Germans, Britons, and Americans to combat it. Typhus itself is described in innocuous terms; the delirium of the disease as it approaches climax is characterized as an “act of spiritual resistance” when experienced by concentration camp inmates (p. 6). And so on.

Weindling is just as biased when it comes to arguing his thesis, which seems to involve little more than demonizing Germans. The rigor of German procedures is routinely characterized in the most unflattering terms; the developments of German medicine are stereotypically portrayed as flat-footed, unimaginative, and factious. On one page, Weindling will praise the American development of DDT, while castigating German caution. On the next page, he is bound to admit that “Ironically, the Germans showed greater awareness of the toxicity of DDT, problems of acquired resistance, and the ecological hazards of its deployment” (p. 380) — in other words, precisely the factors that led them to be cautious in the first place!

Elsewhere, Weindling notes the fact that the Germans developed extensive procedures to protect against gas warfare; but because “the Germans were deploying poison gas against civilians,” this must have been meant to protect the “perpetrators” (p. 387). Elsewhere, while scrupulously avoiding any mention of the notorious British anthrax plans, Weindling launches into a long discussion about German plans for biological warfare, a discussion which, in the end, seems to turn on the fact that the Germans were afraid of being attacked by such agents themselves, and had unreasoning fears about being attacked with diseases by their captive populations. To be sure, the German fears were probably excessive, but it would have helped if Weindling had mentioned that Jan Karski, among others, has

bragged about how Polish resists were infecting German soldiers with typhus. In the same vein, Weindling uncritically repeats Stalinist accusations of German biological warfare in the 1930s.

The all-important section of the book, for relevance to revisionism, proposes the linkage of the highly developed German disinfection procedures with the assumed mass extermination policies in the camps. Here the main character is Joachim Mrugowsky, head of the SS Hygiene Institute. Weindling proposes Mrugowsky’s culpability in genocide, by association if nothing else, in a lengthy argument, while Mrugowsky’s protestations that Zyklon was used solely for disinfection are duly referenced and completely ignored.

Strikingly absent from the discussion as well, especially for a book as thoroughly researched as this one, is Dr. Mrugowsky’s order of May 13, 1943, mandating to the entire concentration camp system that henceforth Zyklon would be used solely for fumigating barracks. (See Crowell, “Bomb Shelters in Birkenau,” section 3.7, <http://www.codoh.com/incon/inconbsinbirk.html>) Certainly this document is important in assessing Mrugowsky’s veracity. Another omission of this type concerns World War One disinfection measures: although Weindling is thorough in referencing the literature that revisionists have used in the past, he omits in his discussion of Austrian disinfection procedures any reference to the fact that such procedures, as Faurisson has shown, led to false reports of mass gassing. As though to compensate for this omission, Weindling relates without comment the accusation that the Turks gassed Armenian infants in 1917 in a steam bath. (p. 106)

When discussing the actual mechanics of the Holocaust, Weindling’s impressive grasp of the archives gives way to a derivative section depending largely on the contributions of Jean-Claude Pressac, Henry Friedlander (for euthanasia), Robert Jan Van Pelt and Deborah Dwork, and Eugen Kogon’s compendium *Nazi Mass Murder with Poison Gas*. As is well known to revisionists, these books in turn are based largely on testimony and anecdote, supplemented occasionally with interrogation records and a smattering of survivor accounts. As a result, Weindling’s discussion of the Jewish catastrophe amounts to little more than a disjointed and gullible regurgitation of the greatest hits of Holocaust arcana, all the way from Kurt Gerstein’s wild reports to such suspicious claims as the story of the champagne party thrown by the staff of the Hadamar

euthanasia center on the cremation of their ten thousandth corpse. This is the weakest and least interesting part of the book.

The book is poorly written, not only because of its endless slanting and argument, but because the body of the text consists in many places of repeated information, to no clear purpose. While that makes the book largely unusable for the general reader, *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe, 1890-1945* is a great boon for those who are deeply interested in its subject. The book contains much interesting and surprising detail that will delight the expert, and the scope of the research commands respect.

In the end, these elements save this book. Although betraying an irritating bias, Weindling has written a good and solid book about the dilemmas of epidemics and their prevention that will be of great use to Holocaust scholars, and to revisionists in particular. We can only regret that he didn't write from a more objective and humane perspective, for then he might have produced a much better one.

Destruction Destroyed

The Giant with Feet of Clay: Raul Hilberg and His "Standard Work" on the Holocaust by Jürgen Graf. Capshaw, Alabama: Theses and Dissertations Press, 2001. Paperback. 128 pages. Index, bibliography, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY THEODORE O'KEEFE

In *The Giant with Feet of Clay*, the able and productive revisionist researcher and polemicist Jürgen Graf has undertaken to examine the standard scholarly treatment of the Holocaust, Professor Raul Hilberg's *Destruction of the European Jews*, in exacting detail. Graf's treatment of *Giant* is both less and more than a book review. He has chosen to concentrate on the essentials, those sections of *Destruction* which bear directly on the alleged mass killing, ignoring the great swathes of Hilberg's elephantine work which describe the undisputed persecution of Jews throughout wartime Axis Europe. The result is a first-rate introduction to the substance and method of the revisionist challenge to the Holocaust, at no more than the size and length of pre-1993 editions of *The Journal of Historical Review*.

Even the case-hardened revisionist will be surprised to see how little of *Destruction* remains after the 1,231



Raul Hilberg

pages of the three volume edition of 1985 are winnowed of all but those sections that deal with the evidence for a plan and an order to exterminate European Jewry, the actual mass killings, and the number of Jews said to have perished as a result of them. Graf is sharp on tracking Hilberg's unexplained turnabout on the existence of the Hitler extermination order. He notes that Hilberg had claimed two successive Hitler orders in the original (1961) edition of *Destruction*, then points out that the historian has omitted all mention of any such order by Hitler in his "definitive" 1985 edition. Graf's reminder of Hilberg's 1983 statement that the Holocaust was not planned in advance, nor organized centrally by any agency, without blueprint or budget, but was instead achieved by "an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus-mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy," deftly torpedoes his target's credibility here (as well as underlining the advisability of jacking most of the flow charts and the rosters of bureaucrats and policemen with which *Destruction* abounds).

In the world of orthodox Holocausty, Hilberg passes for a document and policy man, who more than once has expressed his distaste for the indulgence given the eyewitness testimony of "survivors" and other self-interested parties, such as the late propagandist Jan Karski. As Graf mercilessly exposes in his focus on the heart of the Holocaust claim, however, the professor is for all practical purposes entirely dependent on the testimony of survivors and the confessions of German captives in his efforts to substantiate the outlandish accusations made on what Hilberg calls "the killing centers." Vrba, Wiesel, Nyiszli, Filip Müller, Gerstein, Höss, and more: every one of these key Hilberg witnesses to the gas chambers has had his credibility anni-



Jürgen Graf addresses the 13th IHR Conference, May 28, 2000.

hilated by the revisionists, and is increasingly doubted by exterminationists as well. In quick but deft analyses of the testimony of each of Hilberg's eyewitness authorities for the gas chambers, Graf shows why.

Graf shines brightest in dispelling the murk that veils Auschwitz, Treblinka, and other supposed "killing centers." Here the author, instead of devoting himself to the spatial studies ("gas chambers" and crematoria) preferred by other revisionists, has carefully studied the timeline alleged by Hilberg for the development of the extermination process (from gas vans to stationery chambers, from burial to open-air burning to cremation, etc.). Carefully correlating Hilberg's sources, including Gerstein and Höss, Graf makes mincemeat of Hilberg's widely accepted schema: instead of rational development there is contradiction, confusion, backtracking, and general absurdity. Nowhere, Graf shows, is the "incredible meeting of the minds" less credible in explaining the alleged "final solution" than in accounting for the origins and functioning of its key machinery.

Giant's treatment of Hilberg's accounts of the deportations, mass shootings, and estimated number of Jewish dead is spirited, though in view of the space and evidence, available, not as comprehensive. Each treatment, however, gives a more than adequate survey of how the state of recent knowledge renders Hilberg's

"standard treatment" not merely out of date, but dead wrong.

This is a translation, and an adequate one. Graf has worked from the 1997 German edition of *Destruction*, but mercifully his citations are in the English of Hilberg's original, rather than rendered into a variant retroversion, as happens all too commonly. There are too many Briticisms, and too many Germanisms. The sarcasm and argumentativeness of *The Giant* do not always work well in translation.

The Giant with the Feet of Clay remains a very worthwhile book. According to the Arthur Butz, who took Hilberg's measure a quarter century ago in his magisterial *Hoax of the Twentieth Century*: "This book has great educational value provided it is studied, rather than read." That's true: a clever sixteen year old who reads *Giant* will be able to crush Hilberg and flabbergast her instructor. (She'll probably come away with an F, but that's another matter.) Which isn't to deter those readers who might look on *Giant* as a homework assignment: Jürgen Graf has written a lively, readable, up-to-date handbook to reveal that Raul Hilberg and his Holocaust, if not exactly giants, certainly have feet of clay.

**Georgi K. Zhukov
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Marshal Zhukov's
Greatest Battles**



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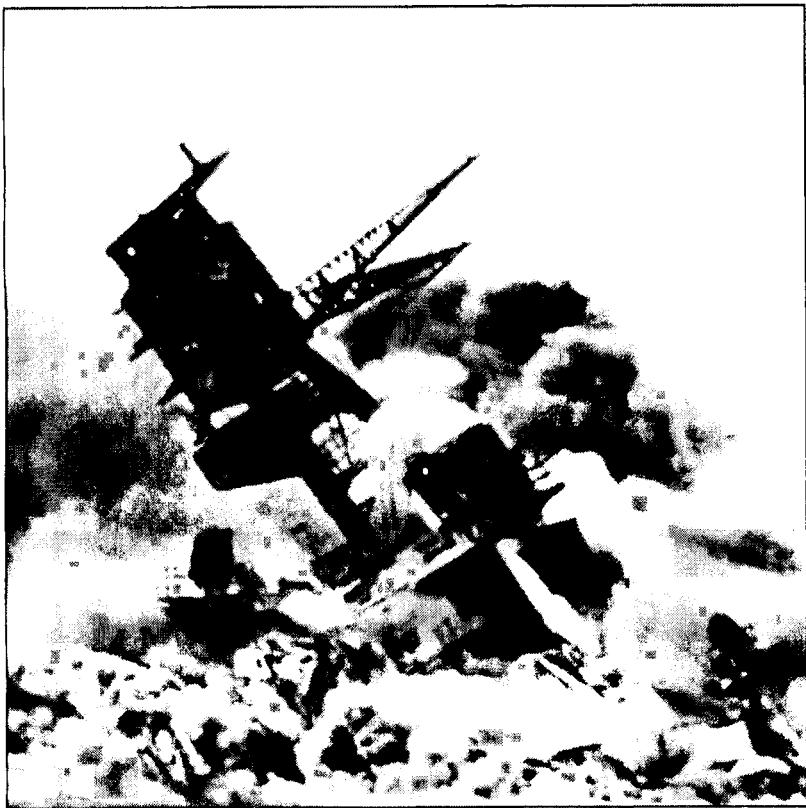
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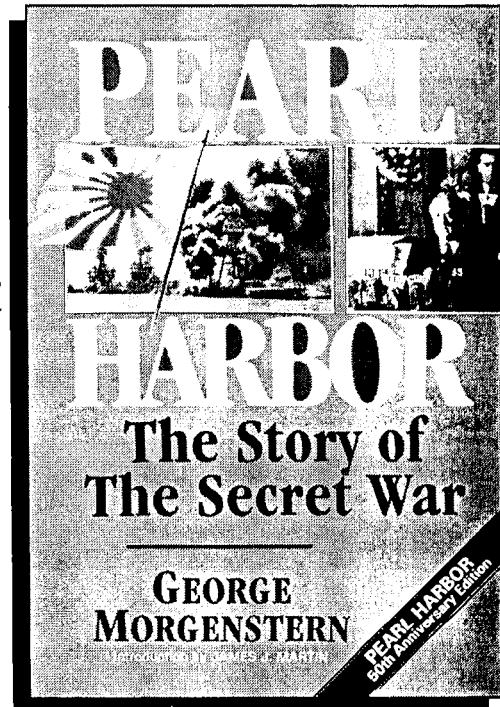
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Blame Enough

Mark Weber's article, "The Jewish Role in the Bolshevik Revolution and the Early Soviet Regime" JHR 14, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb 1994) contained the following statement: "... to blame 'the Jews' for the horrors of Communism seems no more justifiable than to blame 'white people' for Negro slavery, or 'the Germans' for the Second World War or 'the Holocaust.'"

I disagree! I believe the Jews can be blamed, as they are of a culture of Talmudic Judaism that sees gentiles as something less than human, and themselves as superior beings meant to rule over them. A recent quote of Ariel Sharon's may illustrate this, "A hundred (or was it a thousand) Palestinian lives are not worth one Jewish fingernail." It seems the Jewish Bolsheviks had the same idea.

Where does such thinking come from if not within their own culture. From what I have read it seems that they believe that the reign of their Messiah is near and then the whole world will be subject to them. May the Lord have pity on us. It would be Russia all over again, but on a world wide scale. I could quote from their Talmud to substantiate this, but I imagine you are aware of this yourself. To be so unobjective, perhaps thinking that you are being charitable, does not bring anyone closer to the truth. Perhaps it would be best to delete that paragraph from your article.

I always enjoy your writings and find criticizing any thing you write as quite unpalatable. Keep up the good work.

R. K.

[The question of collective guilt is a serious one. Without resorting to the facile evasions of the atomistic version of Jewish peoplehood presented us by

Jewish apologists ("Any time you get a hundred Jews together, you have a 101 different opinions"), we note that analogs to "a culture of Talmudic Judaism," such as "white racism" and "eliminationist anti-Semitism," have been advanced as motivations for the behavior of American white and German collectives. The Journal will thus stick to fearless criticism of Jewish behavior, as warranted, without resort to all-embracing theories. And thanks for bearing with us. — Ed.]

the mufti. But the fatwa is important if the facts as determined agree with the story told to the mufti. Such a fatwa can serve as a precedent in other cases, particularly if the mufti who issued it is highly regarded. I don't know of al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni ever actually functioned as a mufti, but he had the training to occupy that traditional post that went back to Ottoman days.

M. E., Plano, Texas

To Be Precise

I have just received the latest JHR [July-August 2001], a very interesting issue. I am amazed that the *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* devotes so much space to al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni. It's absurd. I'm sure he never had much influence on German strategic thinking on how to solve the Jewish problem. The charge is utter fantasy, built on fiction.

One minor correction is necessary. A mufti is not a judge, properly speaking, as described in the JHR's article (page 11). A better translation would be "jurisconsult" in Islamic law. Traditionally, persons with legal problem go to a mufti and get his decision (fatwa) on their cases, as the petitioners describe them. They then take the fatwa to court and use it in their argument before the judge. Quite possibly the other side will have a fatwa to support its claims as well. The mufti, in giving fatwas, does not rule on whether the people coming to him are telling the whole truth. He merely gives a legal opinion based on the facts as they are presented to him. Thus the fatwa may turn out to be irrelevant, if the judge determines that the parties to the case concealed important facts from

Rightful Repose?

I was very impressed with the latest issue [JHR 20, no. 4 (Jul.-Aug. 2001)], in particular with Revisionist News and Comment, which hit the nail right on the head. I found Mark Weber's review of volume II of David Irving's *Churchill's War* very informative as well. My wife says I am lazy and should at least write book reviews. I have a book *Erfundene Geschichte: Unsere Zeitrechnung Ist Falsch* (Fabricated History: Our Chronology Is Wrong) by Uwe Topper (perhaps we're actually living in the year 1702!) which I have considered reviewing, but I always remind myself that I am retired. In other words, I am lazy.

Dr. H.-E. S.

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659, USA, or e-mail us at editor@ihr.org

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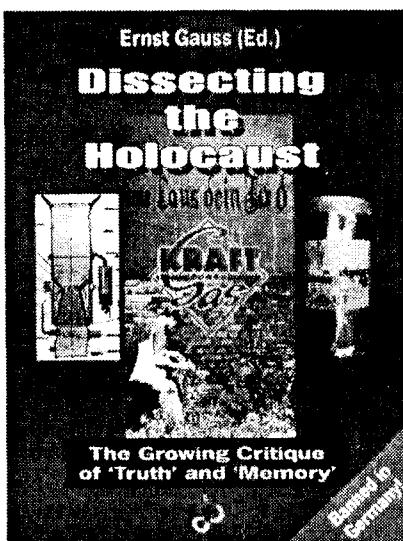
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- John C. Ball, "Air Photo Evidence"
- Mark Weber, "'Extermination' Camp Propaganda Myths"
- Friedrich P. Berg, "The Diesel Gas Chambers: Myth within a Myth"

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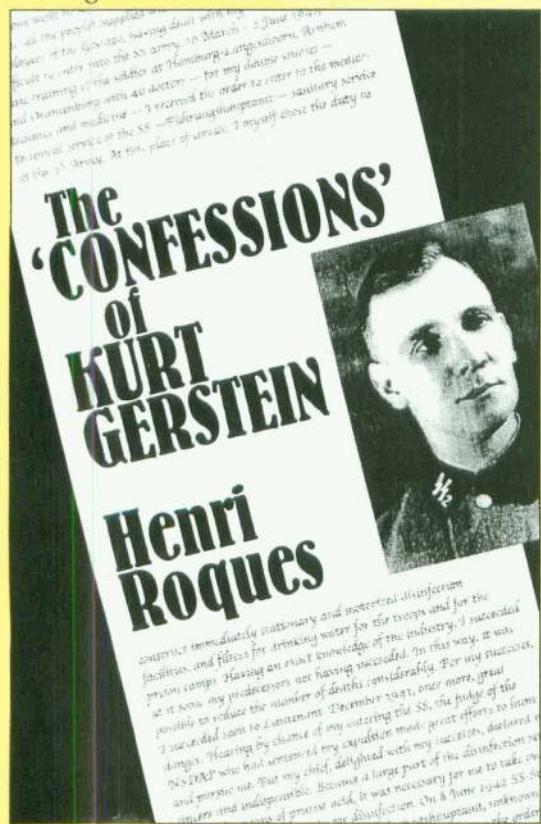
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